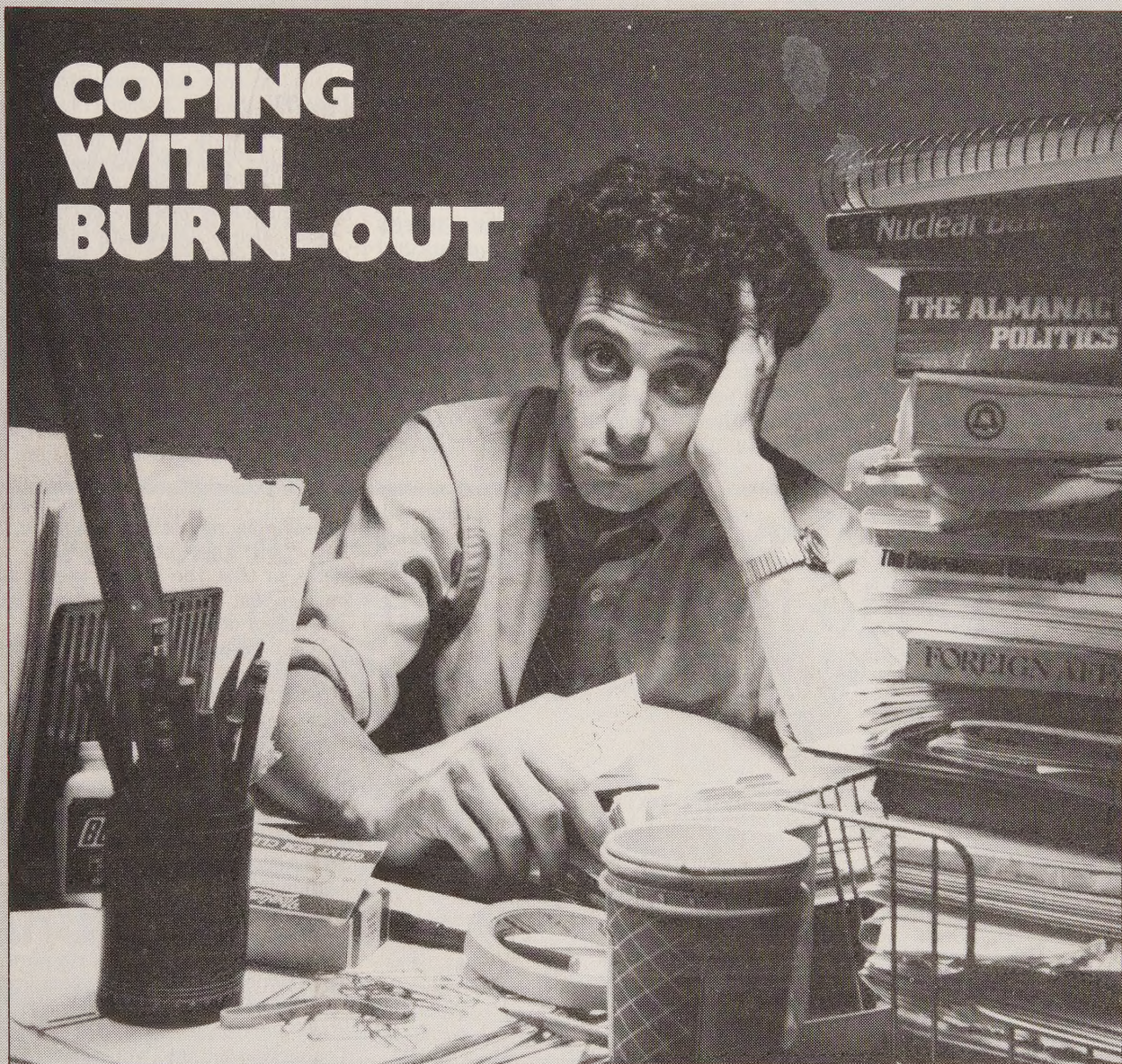


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**Post-Summit Strategies
PRO-Peace Countdown
Election '86: Do Or Die?**

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Letters

The Patriot Game

I share Randy Kehler's frustration with our movement's seeming inability to communicate with the majority of Americans around us ("Toward a New Patriotism," Nov.-Dec. 1985). After all, how are we going to bring about fundamental change in our country's foreign and domestic policies without public faith in, and support for, our movement?

Where I part with Randy, however, is on the subject of "patriotism." No matter how benevolently defined, "patriotism" is part of the problem, not part of the solution. Ultimately, patriotism rests on two other "-isms": parochialism and elitism. The implicit tag line to the statement "I love my country," is, "I love my country more than I love other countries."

Pride in American heritage and ideals—in American political and cultural superiority, in fact—directly plays into the dominant Cold War ideology that is used to justify American intervention around the world. If our country is so great, why not spread our superior culture and political system to other parts of the world? Why not "give" our Bill of Rights to the Nicaraguans or the Soviets or the Angolans?

Appealing to sentiments of national pride, no matter how well intentioned, will only reinforce America's historical amnesia: Americans have forgotten that there are other people in the world with their own ideas and cultures, hopes and dreams. It is our responsibility as a movement to gently remind them of this. And to remind ourselves, too.

—John Sanbonmatsu
Amherst, Ma.

The Last Press Conference

I don't see where the public thinks we are "unpatriotic." They think we are wimps.

The public doesn't give a damn for another press conference ("The Media & The Movement," Nov.-Dec. '85). They want to see strength and leadership—to see we really mean to save their world—otherwise, they'd just as soon not be bothered by another false alarm.

The media taunt us with reflections of our supposed impotence. The editor of *Newsweek* called the Freeze a "six-month wonder." But the media are held in lowest public esteem of any institution in American society.

We must use media to communicate, not to take our own pulse. To constantly filter our efforts and perceptions of

success through fickle media lenses is foolish. To play up to the media and depend on them to "make our movement" is suicidal. Half the media are controlled by 20 large corporations, and in this case, the medium of the media is their message: ratings, sales and profits. *Forget* marketing our movement like soap or toothpaste. **FORGET THE MEDIA!**

When we become a true opposition movement to nuclear insanity, with the fearless hearts that stopped the Vietnam War, we will be newsworthy and the media will be there, wagging their tails.

—Joel Taunton
Los Angeles, Ca.

Pay TV

Your article, "The Media & The Movement" was welcome recognition that if we do not find ways to get our message to the public, no one else will do it for us.

Few people appreciate the clear distinction between using the unpaid media and the paid media. The former—news-papers, radio and TV reporters—are best approached through professional PR or media relations; the latter consist of programs you pay for and control.

PR skills within the movement are improving. But good PR, as your article noted, is often not enough. There are a number of strong reasons why the paid media are essential. They certainly are effective in educating the public. Also important, they bring attention to an issue so that the unpaid media follow suit. In that way, we can actually set the agenda for debate.

When groups do decide to control their own message through paid media, they often start in awe of the high-tech world. Scared of failure, they run to Madison Avenue or Hollywood, where they pay far too much for inferior services. Ask Gil Friend of The Arts for Peace . . . who will tell you that when they did their own TV time-buying, the cost dropped and the results improved.

In both forms of media use, the movement will only grow strong if we are truly professional. A corollary is that PR firms, producers and distributors that are trying to serve the movement can only help if peace groups use them, and stop spending scarce dollars on the same people who sell the Pentagon.

—Patrick Esmonde-White
Public Interest Video Network
Washington, D.C.

Richard Healey, former executive director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, has been named executive director of NUCLEAR TIMES.

EARLY WARNINGS

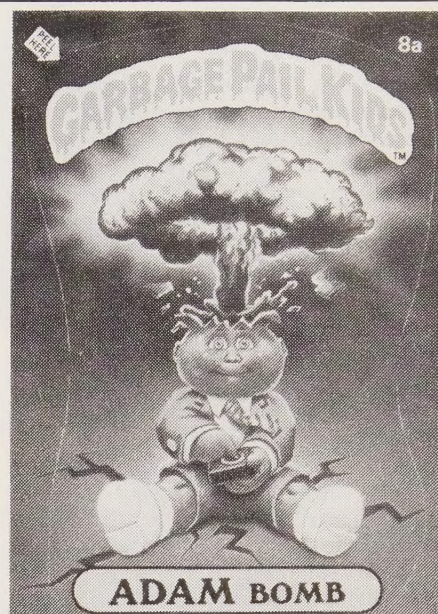
STAR WARS: NO SEQUEL: George Lucas' *Star Wars* empire will not strike back. An attorney for Lucasfilm Ltd. told NUCLEAR TIMES on December 9 that the creator of the *Star Wars* saga will not pursue legal actions against several organizations who used the title of his film in television commercials to refer to President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. A U.S. District Court judge in Washington, D.C. ruled against Lucas' copyright infringement complaint on November 26. If Lucas had won, "the unintended consequence would have been to stifle discussion and dissent on this issue," says Richard Pollock, a public relations director, and co-defendant in the case. "It would have been like talking about Japanese imports without mentioning Honda or Toyota."

Lucasfilm Ltd. had moved against High Frontier and four groups or companies who had created an anti-SDI response to High Frontier's widely-seen "crayola" television commercial. Pollock says he was an "uneasy co-defendant" with High Frontier, since that group actually opposes the use of *Star Wars* to refer to SDI, preferring instead the expression

"Peace Shield."

Attorneys for Lucasfilm deny any political motivation. They argue instead that an association with political controversy hurts the film saga's wholesome image. One courthouse rumor had it that Lucas made his move in response to pressure from the holder of the *Star Wars* toy franchise, Kenner. (Roberta Carney, attorney for Lucasfilm, denies this.) In his ruling Judge Gerhard Gesell said that the term *Star Wars* had "taken on a life of its own" and said that Lucas "has no property right in the use of words commonly found in the English language." Since Jonathan Swift's time, he pointed out, "creators of fictional worlds have seen their vocabulary for fantasy appropriated to describe reality."

PLANET WAVES: "Peace groups like to talk about establishing links with Soviet peace activists," says Joel Schatz, director of the U.S.-Soviet Special Projects Division at the Ark Communications Institute in San Francisco. "But right now we're more interested in actually establishing solid, routine interaction between people in the mainstream."



Topps Chewing Gum Inc. has come out with a new line of bubble gum cards, "Garbage Pail Kids." There's Stinky Stan, Geeky Gary —and Adam Bomb.

Schatz and the Ark Institute are taking a different tack from that of other citizen exchange outfits: They think that channels will be opened by the use of small computers, which have made long-

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Recently, a major obstacle to widespread computer links—official acceptance of the activity by both governments—was resolved. In early October, the U.S. Commerce Department suspended a link established by Schatz (via the international data channel Telenet) pending a review of its legality. Three weeks later, in what could serve as a test case for future hook-ups, the Commerce Department formally approved the connection. (The Soviet Academy of Sciences gave Schatz an official go-ahead last April.)

Schatz is currently helping interested groups, including several Bay Area high schools, an alcoholism prevention center, and medical and economic researchers, to form computer links with their Soviet counterparts. He expects these to start operating in January at a cost to each group of \$100 per month. To encourage others to set up links, the Ark Institute plans to publish materials on hook-up basics in a few weeks. The only problems that remain, says Schatz, are the language barrier and the general lack of computers in the Soviet Union—he estimates that the Soviets are still “20 years behind” in the computer field. But a relaxation of Commerce Department

trade rules has allowed the Soviets greater access to made-in-America personal computers, and the Soviet Central Committee recently launched a computer literacy drive in high schools.

NO SYNCHRONICITY: The British rock star Sting, in his song “Russians” (from the bestselling *The Dream of the Blue Turtles* album) asserts that “the Russians love their children too,” but Americans seem to have their doubts. A recent *New York Times* national survey found that among the 1277 respondents in this country only 34 percent felt that Russians and Americans love their children about equally.



Sting

Who loves their kids more? Ten percent said the Russians do, but nearly 46 percent said *we* do. Another finding: Thirty percent of those polled maintained that at least half the people in the Soviet Union would emigrate if they could.

FIVE CONTINENT VIDEO INITIATIVE: In what its promoters call a first in the history of satellite broadcasting, a live,

two-way television link-up joined the continents of North and South America, Africa, Asia and Europe on December 16 for the awarding of the 1985 Beyond War Award. The winner was not a person, or even a group of persons, but a process: the Five Continent Peace Initiative. During the 90-minute program, which originated in San Francisco, six heads of state took turns accepting the \$10,000 award in their native countries (Mexico, Argentina, Sweden, Greece, Tanzania and India), with a link-up allowing audiences in each nation to view the entire show. Last year's winner, the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, went on to win the 1985 Nobel Prize. Beyond War spokesman John Kidd said he “would not be so bold as to claim” that this set a precedent.

CAMPAIGN RESULTS: As another critical election year begins, what are the prospects for arms control candidates and grass-roots initiatives? The latest indicators—election results in November—were decidedly mixed. On the positive side was the passage, with 58 percent of the vote, of a ballot measure sponsored by the Boulder (Colorado) Bilateral Freeze Campaign. It requires the city council to declare the city a nuclear free zone (NFZ) and refrain from doing bus-

SCIENCE, ARMS CONTROL & NATIONAL SECURITY

This pressing issue for all scientists is the focal point of these new titles from the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS):

THE VERIFICATION CHALLENGE: Problems and Promise of Strategic Nuclear Arms Control Verification, by Richard A. Scribner, Theodore J. Ralston, and William D. Metz

A broad, authoritative examination of strategic nuclear arms control verification that addresses principles and tasks of verification, technology and monitoring, compliance issues, future verification needs, and views on what constitutes adequate verification. Published by Birkhäuser Boston, available from AAAS, December, 1985; 200pp., \$18.75*.

STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL VERIFICATION TERMS AND CONCEPTS: A Glossary, by Richard A. Scribner and Kenneth N. Luongo

A comprehensive glossary of weapons technology, arms control, and treaty terminology. Published by AAAS (1985) 48pp., \$2.50*.

STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL VERIFICATION: An Annotated Bibliography, 1977–1984, by Richard A. Scribner and Robert Travis Scott

A comprehensive, up-to-date guide to books and articles suitable for class or research use. Published by AAAS (1985) 96pp., \$7.50*.

THE STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE: Some Arms Control Implications, by Jeffrey Boutwell and Richard A. Scribner

Implications of SDI for the Antiballistic Missile Treaty, for nuclear arms control negotiations, for limiting antisatellite weapons, and for the NATO alliance and counteractions by the Soviet Union. Contains Congressional action recommendations. Published by AAAS (1985) 48pp., \$2.50*.

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iness with nuclear weapons contractors. A second referendum in Boulder, calling on the city to send letters to the President and local congressional representatives denouncing the United States' "first-use" nuclear policy, passed with 61 percent of the vote. (It is believed to be the first successful referendum anywhere on this issue.) Voters in the college town of Oberlin, Ohio, passed an NFZ referendum with 66 percent of the tally.

In Key West, Florida, however, an NFZ referendum lost by a two-to-one margin, after a heated campaign marked by charges of police harassment and considerable Red-baiting of the measure's sponsor, Peaceworks, and its leader Patricia Axelrod. Key West is known as a resort community but is actually dominated economically by huge Navy bases. Voters in New York City were denied a chance to take a stand against the Navy homeport slated for Staten Island when the state Court of Appeals ruled an initiative off the ballot. (Anti-homeport forces are continuing the fight on environmental and legal fronts.) And in Maryland, Sam Abbott, who as mayor spearheaded the drive that made Takoma Park the first city in the country to adopt a provision barring business with nuclear contractors, lost a reelection bid—by seven votes out of 3000 cast.

In Tacoma, Washington, meanwhile, an organization called Sixth Sense collected 5050 signatures to place a referendum on the ballot calling for a no-first-use nuclear policy. When the city auditor ruled the petitions invalid because they were turned in one day late, the City Council voted to put the referendum on the ballot anyway. After an editorial condemning this move appeared in *The Tacoma News Tribune* the Council met privately and reversed its decision. At press time, the city auditor was validating the original signatures, and it seemed likely that the initiative will go on the ballot this September.

ON NEEDLES & PINS: "For [a] Peaceful And Secure Future For Children All Over the World" were the words embroidered by members of the Soviet Women's Committee as they completed their part of an 8' x 8' quilt, a cooperative venture with the Boise Peace Quilt Project. This pioneering effort is an outgrowth of previous projects by women in Idaho (such as the National Peace Quilt, which has warmed 55 U.S. senators) and the more than 20 other quilting projects around the country. Unlike earlier endeavors, however, this quilt is an international symbol of cooperation between American and Soviet citizens.

At a meeting on the Isle of Wight last fall sponsored by the England-based organization Mothers for Peace, members

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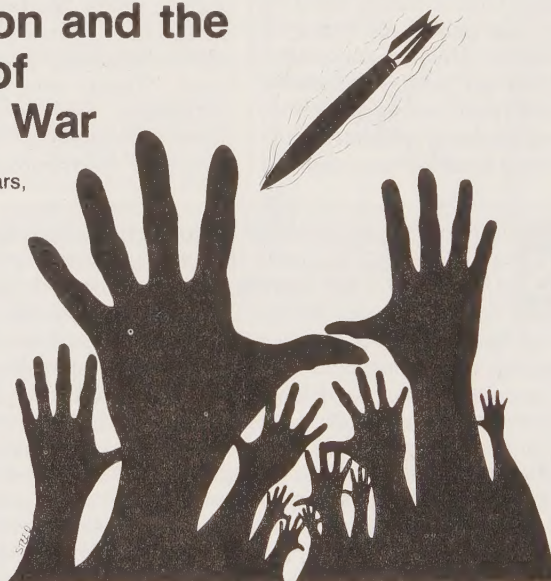
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Education and the Threat of Nuclear War

Edited by Belle Zars,
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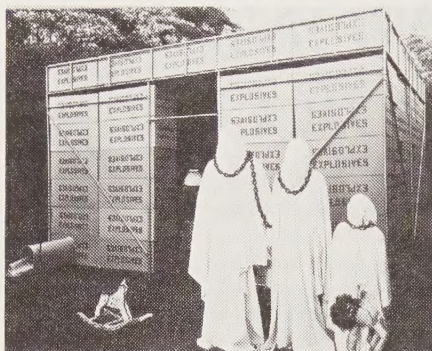
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of the Soviet Women's Committee presented the Boise peace quilters with a factory-made border and cream-colored center panel displaying a blue dove. When completed, the quilt will include 40 hand-sewn portraits taken from photographs of American and Soviet children. The quilters hope to finish their work in time to celebrate International Women's Day, March 8, when they plan to send the quilt to the site of the Geneva nuclear arms talks. "We hope that when our leaders are negotiating they will be forced to look at the faces of our children, recognize their futures and work towards securing them," says Diane Jones, member of the Quilt Project.

"The quilt has some kind of magical power," declares film producer Barbara Herbich, recalling the actual exchange of quilting pieces on the Isle of Wight, which she describes as "a real historic event." Herbich is working with directors Nigel Noble and Cyril Christo on a documentary on the quilting movement in Boise, due for completion by the end of this year. "I was amazed by the idea of citizen diplomacy with the quilt as a vehicle," explains Herbich.

TWICE IN A LIFE TIME: The eternal verities have endured. Consider an editorial from *LIFE* magazine. The Soviet unilateral test ban, *LIFE* asserted, was not a "noble initiative," as the Kremlin claimed, but rather (as the President of the United States said) "a gimmick . . . a side issue." According to *LIFE*, "the Soviet Union's announced suspension of nuclear testing was smart propaganda, well designed to deepen an existing split in free world opinion." *LIFE* said that the Soviet leader's "most obvious



There's enough megatonnage in the superpowers' nuclear arsenals to target every citizen of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. with 20 tons of TNT. To show what we have to live with every day, Santa Barbara (CA) artist Dale Clark built this "peace sculpture": a house made of 200 empty boxes which could hold 180,000 sticks of dynamite, or about 20 tons of TNT. Inside the house, which will tour the country this year, are curtained windows and a mother reading a story to her child.

fakery was his timing. His gesture comes at the end of a series of Soviet nuclear tests. . . . The U.S., by contrast, is on the eve of a new test series to which foreign (including Soviet) observers have been invited."

This may strike you as old news, but you may not realize *how* old it actually is. The editorial appeared in *LIFE* not in a fall 1985 issue but in the April 14, 1958 edition, under the heading, "Gromyko's Shell Game." (Andrei Gromyko had just announced a suspension of Soviet nuclear tests.) These excerpts illustrate, unfortunately, that virtually every major theme developed by the Reagan Administration in response to the Soviet

initiative echoed arguments sounded more than a quarter of a century ago.

"As for our own 1958 tests," *LIFE* stated, "we are quite right not to forego them. They are important not only to our defense but also, as [John Foster] Dulles said, 'perhaps to humanity.' For they will bring us closer to the so-called 'clean' bomb—one with practically no radioactive fallout at all." Remind you of references, in the recent debate, to the necessity of testing SDI's X-ray laser? The Reagan Administration also expressed the following sentiment (again, from *LIFE*, 1958): "The serious question before the world is not whether to test but how to *control* these weapons. . . . Inviting attention to the false issue of testing, he [Gromyko] induces the world's neglect of the most serious threat it has ever faced." Twenty-seven years later, the superpowers have not even begun to "control these weapons." Testing continues in one country and, sadly, seems fated to resume in another.

THE BOTTOM LINE: Since Congress, despite its moves in December to cut the deficit, is still not clamoring to slash the military budget, "it's time for real grassroots pressure," says Jill Nelson, executive director of Jobs with Peace (JwP) in Boston, Massachusetts, which launched the Federal Budget Organizing Project for 1986. Because JwP members believe that the real impact of the federal budget is felt most dramatically on the local level, the Campaign will not be waged on Capitol Hill, but in the country's housing projects, city councils and union halls. In January, immediately after the release of President Reagan's budget proposal, JwP will hold press conferences across the country using local elected officials. They will call for the adoption of Representative Ron Dellums' "alternative" budget, and will kick off a postcard and petition drive aimed at getting officials to pass local resolutions calling for a socially responsible budget.

Then, in April, JwP organizers will hold public hearings to examine the impact of the federal budget on cities and towns. Last year the group held 20 such hearings. (To help organizers, the national JwP office has prepared a training packet called "How to Make the Federal Budget a Local Issue.") The public hearings will lay the groundwork for raising the issue in the 1986 elections and JwP referendums. An initiative campaign is already well underway in Los Angeles, scene of a highly-successful referendum drive in 1984.

Items for this section were contributed by Charles de Kay, Ed Hacker, Beth Jackendoff, Francine Meyer and Alex Miller.

Blips

Minuteman missiles will be pulled from their silos at Warren Air Force Base in Wyoming this month and work will begin to enlarge the holes for **MX missiles**, which will become operational in June Minnesota Freeze Campaign got permission from author/radio humorist **Garrison Keillor** to add a line to his official Lake Wobegon t-shirt. Under a drawing of a cow and the legend "Lake Wobegon: Gateway to Central Minnesota," are the words: "A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE" **Cat Lovers Against the Bomb**, a network created by Nebraskans for Peace, has produced an antinuclear cat calendar, available from New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Ave, Philadelphia, PA 19143 for \$5.95 plus \$1.50 postage "Peace Fleece" is a cooperative effort by Soviet and American **sheep farmers** to produce and market wool products made from a blend of Soviet and American wool. Peter Hagerty, a Maine sheep farmer and coordinator of the new project, came back from the Soviet Union with 1000 pounds of wool in various colors, and now American knitters are creating products in hopes of starting a small Soviet-American business Two groups who hosted teams of Soviets on nationwide tours last fall are now preparing to send representatives to the USSR. **Peace Links** will send 20 women next year, and **UCAM** will work with the Student Council of the USSR on a nuclear curriculum that could be taught in both countries **WILPF** is initiating a new grass-roots effort on military spending using a "Women and the Budget" theme Next for **Peace Child**: performances in the United States and Soviet Union this summer featuring a mixed American/Russian cast, a record album and, in 1987, a movie. The collaborative December 2 spacebridge performance of the play was televised in both countries and covered by all three TV networks in the United States



Researchers and activists have long been frustrated by their dependence on U.S. government publications for information on the Soviet military. Often they find this material biased, incomplete or obscure. But now there's hope on the horizon: In the next year, several extensive studies of the Soviet military and nuclear forces from non-governmental sources will be available to the public.

- The Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, directed by Randall Forsberg, has begun the enormous task of building a print and computer data base of all weapons produced worldwide since 1945. The first two volumes of the projected 12-volume series deal with Soviet missiles and Soviet aircraft.

Each entry lists between 50 and 100 characteristics for the weapon, including design, performance and deployment history. Conflicting information from the hundreds of sources is clearly identified, along with an assessment of each source's reliability.

The 700-page volume on Soviet missiles will be published in March by Lexington Books. Volume II on Soviet aircraft will follow in the fall of 1986. (The complete series will include four volumes each on Soviet weaponry, U.S. weaponry, and the weapons of other nations.) The Institute hopes to make the data base available on-line to the public as sections of the massive work are completed.

- Michael McCgwire, a researcher at the Brookings Institute, has taken a more historical and analytical approach. In his 900-page manuscript, *Soviet Military Objectives*, to be published this spring by Brookings, McCgwire traces the evolution of Soviet military doctrine from 1945 to the present, paying special attention to periods of transition.

This study evolved from McGwire's interest in answering the question, "Do the Soviets have more military power than they need?" After examining the Soviet view of the threat they face, and the requirements of their military forces for many different contingencies, he concludes that they do not.

McGwire's work is not based on what the Soviet government says publicly but on his own reconstruction of their programs and doctrine, based on snippets of information gleaned from a multitude of sources. The book also analyzes the Soviets' conception of military superiority, deterrence and escalation, and considers their military objectives in the

Third World, their view of arms control, and the effect of Reagan Administration policies on Soviet military objectives and doctrines.

• Volume III of the Nuclear Weapons Databook project, entitled *Soviet Nuclear Weapons*, will appear by January 1987. Published by Ballinger, this volume will complement the first book of this series, *U.S. Nuclear Forces and Capabilities*, whose bright orange cover and well-worn pages are a fixture on many activists' bookshelves. Authors William Arkin of the Institute for Policy Studies, and Thomas Cochran and Jeffrey Sands of the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), plan a series of eight volumes in all. *Soviet Nuclear Weapons*



will contain chapters on the Soviet stockpile, the nuclear weapons production complex, and organization of the military. In addition, the project publishes an annual review of the U.S. Department of Defense publication, *Soviet Military Power*, which is available through NRDC in Washington, D.C.

- The Center for Defense Information (CDI) will be issuing a special report this month on trends of Soviet influence. Authors Stephen Goose and David Johnson provide an overview of Soviet military involvement around the world since 1945, along with case studies of about 20 countries. After showing Soviet gains in influence in some areas of the world, and losses in other regions, the authors conclude that there is no evidence to support the thesis of inexorable Soviet advances.

• Yet another approach to the Soviet military is being pursued by David Holloway at Stanford University. Holloway is attempting to do on the Soviet front what historians examining the U.S. side have already accomplished. These historians have made an enormous contribution to our understanding of how our nuclear weapons complex and doctrines developed and what possible options existed (and were ignored). Holloway's work involving considerable digging and ingenuity—there's no such thing as a declassified Soviet government document—will describe the evolution in the Soviet Union from a pure nuclear

research program to a weapons program. He is examining cultural aspects, and the role of scientists, as well as the influence of the United States' (and other nations') actions on the development of the Soviet program. His book, to be published by Yale Press, will appear in about two years.

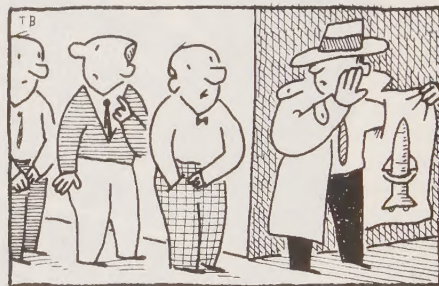
—Katherine Magraw

—Katherine Magraw

* * *

The bottom line is, we're going downhill, in some cases quite disturbingly," says Leonard Spector, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment and author of the new Vintage paperback, *The New Nuclear Nations*, his second annual proliferation report. Spector reveals that at least seven countries have taken important steps in the past 18 months to expand their ability to make nuclear weapons. And he cites "the possible addition of a nuclear nation not on anyone's list": North Korea. A research reactor, a stepping stone to making nuclear weapons, is being constructed there.

Under Rajiv Gandhi, its new leader, India is "reopening" its interest in stocking a nuclear arsenal, Spector reports. India's neighbor and enemy, Pakistan, now appears to "have everything it needs to make nuclear weapons," he says, and may have even exploded a dummy bomb. "This is a big change since a year ago." Spector also cites "reasonably reliable" reports in *Aerospace Daily*



which say that Israel has stockpiled as many as 100 nuclear weapons (quadrupling previous estimates) and has deployed some of them on Jericho II missiles.

But perhaps Spector's greatest new contribution to the proliferation field is his chronicle, in *The New Nuclear Nations*, of what he calls "the nuclear netherworld"—the bidding on black market uranium, the smuggling of A-bomb triggers, the "heightening danger" of terrorism. And in case you ever wondered what a nuclear weapon might go for on the black market, Spector reports that in 1982 a group of Italians offered to sell three aircraft-deliverable, 20-kiloton nuclear bombs to Syria and Iraq. Price for each bomb: \$308 million. The offer drew serious interest—but the bombs never existed.

—Greg Mitchell

—Greg Mitchell

Hundreds of books warn of global destruction, but . . .

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EFFECTS ON '86

Surveying The Summits

The fallout from the November summit, and the prospect of future summits, present tough obstacles, as well as fresh opportunities, for the movement to reverse the arms race. In playing the "summit card," President Reagan has reaped short-term rewards but left some of his policies more vulnerable. And the antinuclear movement, which takes credit for pushing Reagan to the summit, now faces possible public complacency and vigorous opposition from those in Washington, D.C. who would not tie the President's hands.

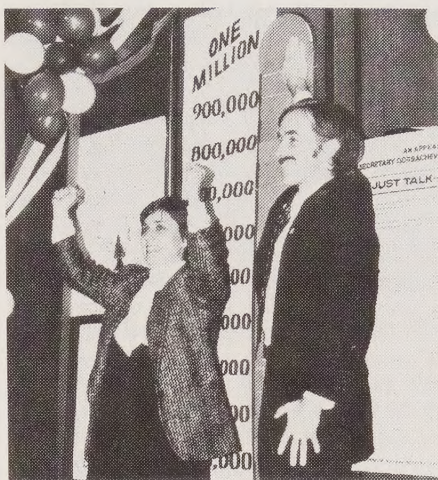
Asked to assess the year ahead, with another summit on the horizon, nearly two dozen national and local movement leaders expressed more optimism than pessimism—while admitting that the President still holds several aces.

THE LULLED PUBLIC: Many Americans feel that the nuclear threat has diminished now that Reagan and Gorbachev are talking. Some activists fear a slackening of urgency and commitment even in their own ranks. "On balance," one group leader in Washington, D.C. said, "the summits are probably not good for activists—people will go to the movies instead of that demonstration."

But others believe that the post-summit euphoria has passed. "The summit has come and gone faster than we ever thought it would," commented Howard Ris, executive director of the Union of Concerned Scientists. What lingers is a "climate" for peace that may prove more lasting. Public expectations have been raised for a breakthrough—or at least more flexibility on the U.S. side—when the newly-accelerated arms talks reconvene this month. And everyone agrees that Reagan will not be able to leave the next summit with just a handshake and a smile.

Grass-roots leaders, in fact, reported little change in activists' outlook or enthusiasm since the summit. If anything, Jill Nelson, executive director of Jobs with Peace, believes, "the summit showed people that they have to take matters into their own hands."

TIMING: Lobbyists agree that if Reagan schedules the next summit in Washington for June it could have a significant effect (in his favor) on the budget authorization process, which will peak about that time. Even so, budget restraints and deficit concerns could out-



Gruenebaum and Cortright: After Geneva, a new year's resolution campaign

weigh pre-summit appeals for more military hardware.

If he does decide to summit in the summer and leaves the table empty-handed once again, the timing could work *against* Republican candidates this fall. Others warn that Reagan may postpone the summit until close to the end of the year to help mobilize support for his party during the fall campaign.

CONGRESS: Last fall the Administration used the pending summit to carry the day on several key issues, and some lobbyists expect Reagan to continue to use this leverage effectively. "We're going to have an incredibly hard time this year on the Hill," one key lobbyist said, "with Reagan holding out the next summit as a carrot to Congress." Added Freeze leader Jane Gruenebaum: "I personally have little faith in Congress this year."

Whether they share this view completely or not, many groups are increasing their grass-roots education and media work. "We have to reevaluate our approach," said Raoul Rosenberg of Physicians for Social Responsibility. "Going to the grass roots with a purely legislative message sapped our strength."

Perhaps the most dramatic post-summit grass-roots strategy is a joint proposal from SANE and Freeze leadership, scheduled to be announced in January. Based on suggestions from local activists, it calls for a national campaign to get local and state governments to pass a uniform resolution calling on the United States to stop nuclear testing.

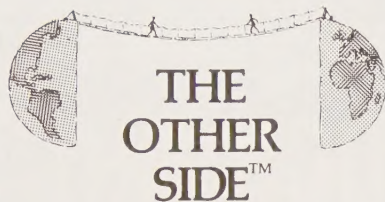
"It will bring back the spirit of the 1982 freeze referenda," said David Cortright, executive director of SANE, "only this time it will be a more intense, time-specific campaign. It recognizes that power comes out of the grass roots. The effect will be a new energy and a groundswell around the test ban. I can't believe the politicians won't respond. And it creates a campaign issue for November." **EXISTING AGREEMENTS:** "The summits help us," said John Isaacs of Council for a Livable World. Many lobbyists declared that Reagan is unlikely to jettison SALT II and the ABM Treaty at a time when he is trying to maintain "the spirit of Geneva." PSR's Rosenberg pointed out: "If he tests an ASAT we'll charge that Reagan's 'poisoning the mood' for the upcoming summit."

STAR WARS: Depressing as his message was, Reagan's insistence at Geneva that he will never negotiate away SDI may ultimately undermine the program. Not only does Congress now take seriously the overwhelming price tag for SDI, it also has to deal (in an election year) with the strong media and public perception that Star Wars is the major impediment to progress at Geneva. Most public opinion polls show that the public, asked to choose between arms control and Star Wars as a way to reduce the nuclear threat, picks the former by a wide margin. This has encouraged several groups to accelerate efforts to educate the press and public on the increasingly clear differences, financial and strategic, between space weapons and arms reductions.

Meanwhile, the "bargaining chip" argument for SDI is beginning to weaken as both technical and budget obstacles to the program draw wide attention. "If it's a chip it has to be played soon," said David Riley, head of the National Campaign to Save the ABM Treaty, "or it will be chipped away."

But perhaps the most common opinion expressed by movement leaders is that Reagan's post-summit honeymoon is over, and from here on out the going gets rougher for him. "If this is to be a Summit Series," said Common Cause lobbyist Mike Mawby, "I hope people [activists] think of themselves as the Kansas City Royals, and the White House as the St. Louis Cardinals."

—Jacqueline Orr
& Greg Mitchell



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LESSONS FOR THE U.S.?

Canadian Alliance Breaks New Ground

The Canadian peace movement, in a move that could serve as a model for activist groups in the United States, took a major step forward with the founding of the Canadian Peace Alliance (CPA) at a convention in Toronto from November 8-11. More than 250 groups agreed unanimously to adopt a document that included a seven-point "statement of unity" and rules of procedure. All regions of the country and all existing national peace organizations were represented. "The American movement can learn a lot from this process," says William Arkin, a research fellow with the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C., who attended the founding convention. Among the points included in the statement of unity was support for the declaration of Canada as a nuclear weapons free zone (including the banning of nuclear fuel for export); ending the conventional as well as the nuclear arms race; support for a nuclear weapons freeze; and the redirection of wasteful military spending to funding human needs. What follows is an article, written for NUCLEAR TIMES, by the organizer of the conference. —Eds.

Organizational questions dominated the year-long debate leading to the convention. While all groups recognized the need for better communication and coordination on the national level, many were concerned that any new formation would threaten the autonomy and strength of constituent members. The debate centered around whether or not this new formation would be an active coalition—initiating campaigns and maintaining a public profile—or simply a network for the exchange of information. It was even suggested that there should be no national office or staff.

The final agreement was a compromise between the two positions. The CPA will have an office with staff and will help to organize nationwide campaigns on disarmament. What it will not do is conduct these campaigns in its own name. That is, the mechanism of the CPA can be used to propose, debate, and support campaigns—but after it has done this the campaign becomes the responsibility of the groups who want to associate themselves with it. (CPA policy and strategy will be set at an annual convention of members, with approval of 70 percent of the delegates needed for any motion to pass.) In this way groups can join the Peace Alliance without the fear that they

will be implicated by activities or positions which they either don't support or don't care to debate within their own organizations.

Under this plan, the profile of the CPA is limited, thereby reducing the possibility that it will become a "super group" and subsume the many diverse voices that give the Canadian peace movement



its strength. On the other hand, all groups will benefit from increased communication and information exchange and have a chance to promote national debate of issues and strategies. The peace movement will become stronger, it is felt, with the development of national campaigns in a democratic and efficient manner, and with the pooling of resources for projects and activities.

The impetus for the CPA came primarily, although not exclusively, from local peace groups. In such a large and diverse country very few of the national groups have a truly Canada-wide reach. Most local groups have been in existence for a relatively short period of time, and many have combined their efforts into strong local coalitions which have emerged as the driving force in Canadian peace movement campaigns.

It was these coalitions which had the most need for a formal alliance on the national level. While some of the national groups also supported the process, several of the older ones were cautious and initially opposed the idea. But as the momentum grew it became very difficult for any group not to participate in the process, particularly after significant compromises were made.

The peace movement in Canada has grown tremendously over the last several years and scored a major success with the government's formal rejection of the U.S. invitation to participate in Star Wars research. A recent Canadian Broadcasting Corporation poll showed majority support among Canadians for most of the positions taken in the CPA's basis of unity document. The structural evolution of the movement in the foundation of the Peace Alliance is a step in helping the movement reach its potential.

—Robert Penner

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Peace Prize Boosts PSR

If this award has any message," said Egil Aarvik, chairman of the Nobel Committee, upon announcing the 1985 winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, "it is for the two superpowers to come up with results." The winner, of course, was International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW), a Boston-based organization composed of physicians' groups in 41 countries with a total of over 135,000 members.

New respect and increased media attention were felt immediately by IPPNW members from the local level on up. But despite the benefits of the peace prize, and despite the intentions of the Nobel Committee, it is unclear whether the physicians had a significant impact on the recent Reagan-Gorbachev summit meeting. "The potential for long-term results is encouraging," says Conn Nugent, executive director of IPPNW, "but in the short-term it [the Summit] was disappointing, because there was no apparent progress on disarmament." But for IPPNW, Geneva was only part of the picture.

"The most immediate and tangible impact of the prize has been to infuse our membership with a renewed sense of vitality and mission," says Raoul Rosenberg, director of policy and legislation for Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR), the American branch of IPPNW.

Bernard Lown, who was among the founders of PSR in 1961, is co-president of IPPNW. In 1962, he and several other doctors helped define the role of physicians in the antinuclear debate by publishing an authoritative study in the *New England Journal of Medicine* about the effects of a hypothetical nuclear bombing of Boston. Then, in 1980, Lown and others from the United States met with Soviet doctors in Geneva to launch the international umbrella organization for the physicians' movement, IPPNW. Meanwhile, PSR's ranks swelled to almost 30,000.

To celebrate the award, PSR and a group of congressional leaders co-sponsored a Capitol Hill reception on November 13, which attracted 450 people, including representatives from most of the major media.

"We're not used to this level of response," says PSR's Rosenberg. "Members [of Congress] were jockeying to speak."

But the Nobel Committee's choice had its detractors as well. Critical editorials and op-ed pieces appeared in the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, the



Drs. Lown (l.) and Chazov in Budapest, 1985

Washington Post, and other newspapers. In a typical barb, the *New Republic* argued that "There is an elaborate pretense [with respect to IPPNW] that the Soviet bloc doctors are, like the Western doctors, an independent group. . . . The Western doctors do not seem to notice, or perhaps to care, that their East bloc colleagues never take a position contrary to the current Soviet line."

IPPNW's "prescriptions"—a comprehensive test ban, a nuclear freeze, no-first-use and opposition to the militarization of space—are consistent with proposals supported by the Soviet Union. "It has to be so," continued the *New Republic*. "Not because the American doctors are Soviet agents (they are simply American naïfs), but because the Soviet doctors are." Many critics argued that non-sanctioned peace activists in the Soviet Union are often jailed or placed in mental hospitals.

How does IPPNW respond to the criticism? First of all, says Nugent, the group does not follow the Soviet Union's line. "In all instances," he says, "those proposals were put forward by Western doctors before the Soviet government, or any government, endorsed them. We can't retract what we said 12 months ago just because the Soviets agreed to it."

But are IPPNW's proposals asymmetrical, and more critical of the United States? No one anticipates Yevgeny Chazov, the Soviet co-president of IPPNW who is his nation's leading cardiologist and a member of the Soviet Central Committee, speaking out against the deployment of Soviet SS-20s. But Nugent argues that the group does not in fact criticize particular governments. "We recommend steps to reverse the arms race," he said. "We condemn nuclear weapons anywhere, deployed by anyone."

An example of where the group runs against Soviet policy is found in its opposition to civil defense programs, which are taken far more seriously in the Soviet Union than in the United States. Lown voiced this opposition on an uncensored broadcast over Soviet television in 1982.

Other critics have charged IPPNW with ignoring Soviet human rights violations, Afghanistan, and other important issues. Dr. Chazov was widely criticized last month for having signed a letter denouncing Dr. Andrei Sakharov in 1983. But Nugent argues: "We're a non-linkage group. . . . We do not believe that discussion about the arms race can be held hostage to the ideological differences between East and West."

"The critics of the Nobel decision have not considered the rationale of the committee itself," Nugent adds. The Nobel Committee cited IPPNW for "spreading authoritative information . . . [about] the catastrophic consequences of atomic warfare," and commended the group because it consists of both Soviets and Americans. Adds PSR's Rosenberg, "No one is criticizing the substance of what we are saying."

Some members of local PSR chapters are receptive to the recent criticisms. "It is a reminder to our organization that we really need to take to heart our policies toward the Soviets and human rights," says Hugh Straley, a Seattle doctor who heads PSR in Washington state. "We are concerned, and at times we haven't spoken out when we should have." Nevertheless, he says, "human rights should not take precedence over the issue of arms control."

Like many state and local chapters, PSR-Washington is using the Nobel prize to bolster its membership and outreach efforts. Within a month of the award, the group sent out solicitations to every doctor in the state. (The chapter, Straley estimates, already represents 10 percent of the state's 13,600 doctors.) Other groups coordinated their outreach with a nationwide PSR celebration held on December 10, when Lown and Chazov formally received the award in Oslo.

The prize has brought new respect for local groups, says Diane Chavez, coordinator of PSR in New Mexico, a respect illustrated by a recent meeting between PSR members and workers from the Sandia and Los Alamos weapons labs. For the first time, Chavez says, "they were treating us as a serious professional organization." Local groups in Florida, North Carolina and around the country reported that the prize has produced new members and a higher media profile. "Suddenly," says PSR's Rosenberg, "our chapter members are being turned to as legitimate spokespeople." —Alex Miller

BUT RECRUITMENT LAGS

PRO-Peace Marches Ahead

When the Great Peace March leaves Los Angeles on March 1, the 3235-mile journey ahead may seem to its organizers less arduous than the political path they've traversed in the last year. With endorsers ranging from rock star Madonna to the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign—the latter played harder to get—the project that started out as David Mixner's Big Idea has managed to attract a fairly broad base of antinuclear supporters.

Now only one Big Question remains: will march sponsor PRO-Peace succeed in recruiting the 5000 marchers it has built a movement around?

Publicly, PRO-Peace staffers in Los Angeles express confidence that they'll have all the marchers they need when the January 15 recruitment deadline arrives. But privately, there is some internal anxiety over the fact that by early December only 226 marchers had been screened and formally accepted for the trek. Another 1500 applications were in hand. More than 15,000 applications has been sent out. While the group has raised an impressive \$3 million, this is only one-fifth of its stated goal.

"There's not much of a problem," says David Mixner, PRO-Peace founder and executive director. "We're doing tough phone surveys in the field, and not taking anything for granted." Ida Unger, recruitment director, says PRO-Peace staff is keeping track of committed marchers all over the country who haven't yet completed their paperwork. "We're not terribly worried," Unger says. "I'd say we're about halfway to our goal."

MADONNA'S BLESSING

Despite the recruitment worries, PRO-Peace is proceeding with its plans throughout the march route with a combination of high-tech networking, media wizardry and old fashioned grass-roots organizing. From the outset the group distinguished itself from the rest of the peace movement with its frank emphasis on marketing and its ease with mainstream media.

It scored a major publicity coup last fall by recruiting a celebrity cast for its public service announcements (PSA's). Nicholas (*The Day After*) Meyer directed the spots, which featured Madonna along with actors Martin Sheen, Rosanna Arquette, Ally Sheedy, Rob Lowe and Melissa Gilbert. Madonna told *People* magazine: "It seems that today it takes

celebrities to draw attention to major issues. I'm not saying that's right but it seems to be true."

She could have been speaking for PRO-Peace. More people likely saw news features about the PSAs than the spots themselves, communications director Howard Cushnir notes. But the PSAs, which feature a toll-free 800 number, are bringing in money and recruiting marchers. "We're getting 50 calls a day,"

allow students to earn college credit for the march by dividing their time between walking and studying. One unexpected development is the participation of school-age youngsters marching with parents. PRO-Peace had initially limited the march to adults over 18, but a clamor from families wanting to march together changed the rules. Senior citizens, who will account for another one-third of the marchers, will also be strongly represented.

Planners are now working out the details of "self-governance," allowing marchers to participate in decisions ranging from campsite behavior to dealing with the local media. "Self-



Mixner meets with Paul Newman and Sally Field at celebrity briefing; (inset) PRO-Peace supporters at UCLA college peacemarch

Cushnir says. Now PRO-Peace plans to buy air time and newspaper ads—chiefly in east coast markets, where the group, due to its Los Angeles roots, is less well-known.

MARCHING ORDERS

As the march kick-off approaches, more staff time is going into figuring out the details of just what will happen as the marchers walk their 15 daily miles. One whole department has worked out the physical details—providing 5000 people with 2500 tents, 3,825,000 meals and 1,275,000 showers over the nine-month trek. Now planners are getting more concrete about what else will go on (besides walking) each day.

The large number of students—about one-third of the marchers—has made necessary a "college on foot," that will

governance" is a tough concept in a project as slickly conceived and managed as PRO-Peace, however. Unger, who's working on the structure with lawyers, warily suggests that it could provide a forum for taking political stands along the way. "I think there will have to be a system for that," he says. "But I hope we can keep it simple. Our educational activities are a better place for political issues."

Indeed, the march's educational component is probably its most politically ambitious endeavor. Some peace movement veterans have criticized PRO-Peace for its "stridently single-issue approach," in the words of Leslie Cagan, program coordinator for the national Mobilization for Survival. While Mixner and PRO-Peace organizers have maintained a hard line on limiting the march's sole political

demand to "take the weapons down," the complexity of nuclear politics is being acknowledged in educational activities.

"Every night we'll have talks and slide-shows not just on the nuclear arsenal, but asking how nuclear weapons are involved in all aspects of military strategy, in foreign policy, in our domestic policies," says Barbara Zheutlin, education director. Marchers affiliated with individual peace groups and causes will have one night a week to address the rest of the marchers. And electoral activists will have a chance to publicize the policy positions of congressional candidates running in states along the march route. "To me, PRO-Peace is a door opening to people who haven't been involved in these issues before," Zheutlin says.

PRO & CON

It's clear that PRO-Peace has evolved in response to peace movement criticism over the last year. From the start what struck some people as refreshing audacity hit others as unnecessary arrogance—treading on political turf without fully involving those who had come before. Some significant political differences continue to divide PRO-Peace from veteran peace groups like Mobilization for Survival, which hosted a meeting between Mixner and representatives of the peace movement's left wing in October.

"We disagree politically because we take a multi-issue approach, but David Mixner honestly believes this is the best way to deal with the arms race," Cagan says, adding that the October meeting cleared the air. "I'm glad it happened," she says. "We certainly don't see them as the enemy."

Months of wrangling between PRO-Peace and the Freeze Campaign resulted in an endorsement at the annual Freeze conference in Chicago in November. Delegates voted by a two-to-one margin to back the march, after PRO-Peace made a public statement supporting the freeze, a comprehensive test ban, withdrawing cruise, Pershing and SS-20 missiles from Europe and opposing the militarization of space. PRO-Peace had initially resisted endorsing formal policy proposals, but now backs such measures as "intermediate" steps to its ultimate goal of abolishing nuclear weapons.

The endorsement resolves some internal tension within the Freeze Campaign. While the national leadership was raising questions about PRO-Peace's goals and top-down structure, grassroots leaders were getting behind the project. "I endorsed it from the beginning, because it seemed like the kind of campaign the Freeze should have been able to generate," says Arizona Freeze leader Jim Driscoll. "They understand media and can appeal to our mainstream

soft support." The Arizona Center to Reverse the Arms Race, which Driscoll chairs, will make the Great Peace March one of its three priorities for 1986. Members are organizing a "Peace Posse" to ride horseback from Phoenix to the Arizona border where the march crosses the state, Driscoll notes.

FREEZING CLIMATE

Interviews with two dozen peace activists in cities and towns along the march route indicate varying levels of organization and support for PRO-Peace. Some groups are planning their own marches which will "feed" into The Great Peace March. From Springdale, Utah (pop. 300), which has endorsed PRO-Peace and may present marchers with the key to the city, to Denver, Colorado, which will host one of several star-studded rock concert/rallies along the march route, support is best organized in western states.

It's a little quieter in the Midwest, where PRO-Peace staff hasn't worked as closely with local peace and justice groups. Chicago staffer Melody Moore acknowledges "we've had our problems" with the local peace community, but notes PRO-Peace has attracted "fresh faces and new volunteers" from mainstream groups, labor unions, business leaders and the political establishment. In Cleveland, by contrast, the PRO-Peace regional office is across the hall from the local Freeze Campaign "and it's working out well for both," says Cleveland Freeze Campaign Executive Director Monica Green. "We attract different individuals and we have a different perspective, but there's a lot we can share."

The East is where most work remains to be done, PRO-Peace organizers agree. The effort has suffered from turnover in its New York office. "We're just waiting for them to get their staffing worked out," says Tom Stephenson, director of the Downstate New York Freeze Campaign. "I think people are interested and want to be involved." Rosemary Mancini, a Rochester, New York, Freeze activist agrees. "It's still early—I think they've got time to catch up with their timetable."

Mancini and her husband Joseph, who is active in Physicians for Social Responsibility, are slated to march with their children, aged five and two. She's "proud" that the Freeze Campaign endorsed PRO-Peace. "I think it shows our leadership was willing to take a risk," she says. "PRO-Peace creates a climate for the Freeze. And knowing that it's going to happen, I think it was our responsibility to make sure our goals were being articulated. But you can't do that standing outside."

—Joan Walsh

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CONVENTION REPORT

The Freeze Carries On

The Freeze Campaign can't be dead—it's far too noisy. At the group's sixth national conference, held in Chicago in mid-November, 600 delegates came together from 186 congressional districts and 40 states to plan for 1986. The three-day convention was characterized by private dejection and vigorous public debate, and closed to mixed reviews that offer some insight into the causes of the Campaign's much-touted identity crisis.

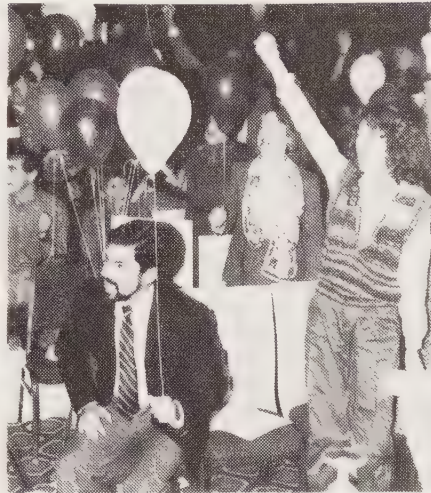
Some participants, criticizing the cumbersome floor procedures that kept delegates agonizing over strategic minutiae into the evening hours, have called for a radical tightening of next year's conference—and the Freeze Campaign itself. Others, lining up squarely behind the Freeze's grass-roots infrastructure, insist that the whole affair must be *less* organized in the future, to allow for in-depth discussions on everything from the nuts and bolts of local organizing to national structure and focus. Some applauded the convention's successful bid for media attention: speeches by Jesse Jackson, Representatives Les AuCoin, Pat Schroeder and Ed Markey, and a red, white and blue send-off rally of peace petitions to Geneva. Others wondered where some of the Campaign's own leaders were—both the "mother" (Randall Forsberg) and "father" (Randy Kehler) of the Freeze were absent—and muttered that media spectacles robbed the conference of valuable time for long-term strategizing. And once again, emotions ran high over civil disobedience.

FOCUS ON 1986

Highlights of the strategy that emerged from the floor discussion include:

- Pursuing the passage of Schroeder's Simultaneous Nuclear Test Ban Act and Markey's Comprehensive Freeze Bill.
- Mobilizing public opinion for a comprehensive test ban and against Star Wars.
- Educating on the national security benefits of a freeze; the freeze as an alternative to Star Wars; the peace and common security benefits of a freeze; and the economic consequences of the arms race.

While the Campaign has always called for passage of a comprehensive freeze bill, its organizing focus blurs from year to year. "We never know what to expect," one delegate complained. "Next year we'll probably be told to work for a



Freeze delegates rise to the occasion

comprehensive quick test ban freeze."

A succinct summation of this year's focus came from Sara Kirschenbaum, state coordinator of the Ohio Freeze, who remarked to a colleague at the convention's conclusion, "I think we're supposed to educate on Star Wars and legislate on the test ban."

While many delegates left the conference with the same idea, "one thing that was noticeably lacking was a single, unifying strategy," says the Campaign's Executive Director, Jane Gruenebaum. "What are we all going to do together when we go home?" After a pause, Gruenebaum adds, "It just wasn't that kind of a conference."

SIDELINE VIEWS

As at most conventions, there were really two meetings going on in Chicago: the official gathering on the conference floor, and the one on the periphery, which was conducted by small groups of people in the back of the huge meeting room, or in workshops, or, frequently, in the hotel bar. The delegates to this *ad hoc* convention were generally veterans of the movement who were critical of the cheerleading tone of the conference. Many felt that it was time for the Campaign as a whole to face what they believe was 1985's true legacy: burn-out and depression.

"What I think the Freeze convention was all about was the politics of denial," says Andrea Ayvazian, director of the Exchange Project for the Peace Development Fund in Amherst, Massachusetts, who was attending her third conference. "You can't make a strategy for the future

unless you make an honest assessment of where you are now. I know that a conference is not the place to get all the answers," she continues, "but at least we should be asking the right questions."

On the second day of the convention, Ayvazian cancelled a scheduled workshop on "how to use board members" in order to discuss what *wasn't* happening on the floor. "We [the workshop participants] stayed together for two-and-a-half hours," she says. "The general feeling was, 'don't give us five politicians, no movement leaders, no reality, and call us a conference.' We are having problems, and we need to talk about them."

Jane Gruenebaum explains that conference organizers tried to strike a balance between boosting morale and discussing Campaign business. "The only time the focus was on cheerleading was at the [petition send-off] rally," she says. "As for the rest of it—the speeches—the purpose was to put ideas on people's plates."

But Ayvazian and a group of other delegates wanted analysis of the political and organizational problems facing the Freeze Campaign, and they felt its lack so keenly that they attempted to suspend business on the floor of the convention Sunday morning in order to have small group discussions on the obstacles hindering Campaign success—and how to overcome them. The motion narrowly lost. "Our point was that we're in a tough time," Ayvazian says, "but it's in times like these that new leadership and new strategies emerge, if we give ourselves a chance."

"There's an element in the Freeze

New Life?

The newly-invigorated Simultaneous Test Ban Act passed away on January 1, when its deadline for a U.S. nuclear test moratorium expired. But Representative Pat Schroeder promises to reintroduce it, with alterations depending on whether the Soviets resume testing, and other factors. Schroeder's measure, which calls for a cutoff of funds for nuclear tests, was languishing in Congress, with a short roster of 40-odd cosponsors and no response to requests for hearings from the Armed Services Committee. Then the Freeze Campaign's decision to back the bill as a priority gave it a second wind. "We got lots of letters, calls and enthusiasm" about the bill, as well as seven new cosponsors, reports Schroeder legislative aide Kathleen Gomez.

—Beth Jackendoff



Rep. Les AuCoin: Too many politicians?

Campaign that doesn't *want* to win," says Joe Sternlieb, coordinator of the East Side Freeze in New York City, whose alternative national strategy calling for finely-focused legislative work on the test ban was not adopted. "It's almost as if there's a fear of corrupting the Campaign's purity."

Most participants agree that the conference was not crackling with the energy that took delegates by surprise at last year's convention. Still, "in spite of all the negatives, the conference charged me up," says Allan Cohen, from Charleston, South Carolina. "The Geneva send-off was one of the best moments in any Freeze conference I've attended." (He has attended all six.)

CD SPLIT

In a hastily called up-and-down vote, convention delegates voted 99 to 118 not to include civil disobedience in the mixture of movement activities the Campaign uses to promote its national agenda.

The subject of civil disobedience, a major focus of debate at last year's conference, got significantly less floor time this year. Because of a series of administrative errors, a wide range of direct-action related material—from a report on the recent American Peace Test at the Nevada Test Site to a series of proposals prepared by the Campaign's Direct Action Task Force—was presented in one piece before the strategy discussion on the floor had even begun.

"As a result, we had a time-limited discussion that was totally out of context," says former Campaign Co-chair Nancy Heskett from Shippensburg, Pennsylvania. "It all came together with very little time and under high emotion and stress." Many delegates felt that since the vote was so close it amounted to a non-decision.

Heskett later announced from the podium that she was resigning her position as co-chair in order to concentrate on state activities—and to help

launch a new, national organization dedicated to nonviolent direct action. She estimates that a core group of about 20 Freeze organizers will be in on the ground floor, and reports that many delegates expressed an interest in signing up—but only if the Freeze Campaign *isn't* involved.

Organizers of the as-yet-unnamed group will be meeting in Nevada in January, and hope to tie into other direct action efforts around the country. Heskett views this development as a stage in the Campaign's evolution, not as an irreconcilable divorce. "My hope is that our efforts will be so attractive that we will eventually be re-embraced," she says. Gruenebaum says that the two groups will be in close communication, and supportive of one another. "After all, the new group is made up of Freeze people, and I think they'll all remain in the Freeze," she maintains.

WHAT TO DO?

In typical Freeze Campaign style, there are already many ideas springing up—contradictory ones, of course—to remedy conference, and Campaign, problems. A brief sampling:

- Allot more time for the convention.
- The national conference should deal strictly with goals and strategy, not with tactics, which should be determined at

the local level.

- The Campaign's goals and strategies should be determined by a few members of the national staff, not by the grass roots.

- Let leadership and national strategy emerge at the grass roots—don't look to Washington, D.C. for answers.

There will be a lot of soul searching over the next year as Freeze activists grapple with issues raised at the conference. Fred Miller, chairman of the Campaign's long-range planning subcommittee, for example, will attempt to develop a network of people across the country to provoke and organize the discussion of a long-term "vision" and strategy for the Campaign. (He can be reached at the Detroit Area Nuclear Weapons Freeze.)

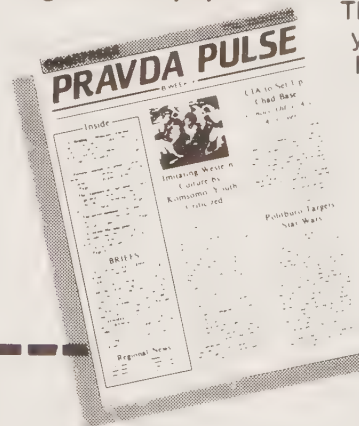
And there are more questions: Should the Freeze continue to reach out to middle America? Or should it take what it has—a committed minority—and run with it? Should it expand its focus to include serious work on intervention, conventional war and international security—subjects conspicuously downplayed at this conference? Such questions are bound to be debated in 1986, proving once and for all that the Freeze Campaign *is* alive, and still developing. As one organizer put it, "It's the friction that keeps us moving forward."

—Renata Rizzo

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TV FILM CONTROVERSY

The Russians Are Coming

"It would promote paranoia and fear," says Betty Olson, coordinator of Nebraskans for Peace.

"I hope it won't panic people into believing their salvation lies in increasing nuclear weapons," says Peter Zheutlin, public affairs director with International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

"We cannot even think of it—it's too crazy," complains Boris Malakhov, spokesman for the Soviet embassy in Washington, D.C.

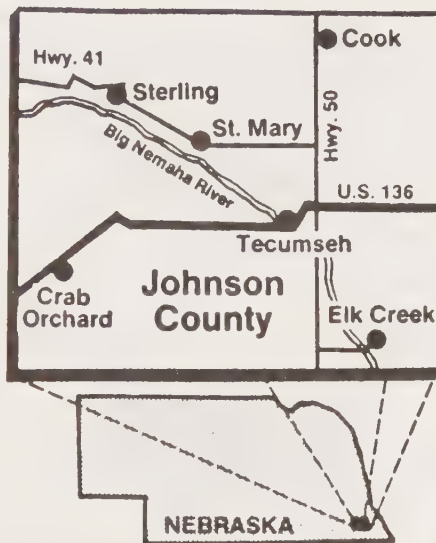
"We think it will be the most important entertainment we do that season," comments Bob Wright, director of motion picture public relations for the ABC Broadcasting Group.

What are these people talking about? At the moment, "it" is nothing you can see, not even a finished script, but a projected 16-hour, \$40 million ABC mini-series entitled *Amerika*, set 10 years after the United States has fallen to the Soviets without a fight. Production has been halted in Tecumseh, Nebraska while the script is being revised for budgetary reasons, according to ABC. The cast has not yet been chosen.

When the project originated in 1984 as a mere three-hour film called *Topeka, Kansas, U.S.S.R.*, charges were made that it was the network's conservative "answer" to *The Day After*. Reed Irvine, chairman of Accuracy in Media (AIM), and others, criticized ABC's *The Day After* for intimating (in Irvine's view) that nuclear war was so horrifying that the United States should accommodate the Soviets. *Amerika*, on the other hand, will show "the consequences of America's surrender," asserts Bernard Yoh, AIM's director of communications. Yoh offered suggestions to ABC researchers compiling a bibliography for the project.

"We've been in communication with them [ABC] since the beginning," says Yoh. He recalls recommending two books to the show's researchers: *What Will Happen to You When the Soviets Take Over*, by Ingo Swann, and *I, Martha Adams*, by Pauline Winslow.

I, Martha Adams, a novel published by St. Martin's Press in 1984, depicts life in America following surrender to the Soviets' nuclear blackmail. According to Winslow, ABC was interested in adapting parts of her book but she does not believe the production in its present form "has anything to do with it." In any case, Donald Wrye, the executive producer,



Map of Amerika: Tecumseh, USSR?

director and writer of *Amerika*, contends that "no person or group of any specific political orientation has had a direct or indirect influence on this picture, in spite of many claims to the contrary."

ONLY IN AMERIKA

The film's bibliography, which ABC would not make available to NUCLEAR

TIMES, was reported in *The New York Times* to list 18 consultants and interviewees, "a mixed bag of conservative and liberal sources with only a couple of prominent experts on relations between the United States and the Soviet Union." Wrye, whose television credits include the Tom Selleck vehicle *Divorce Wars*, and the controversial *Born Innocent* (starring Linda Blair), admits that most experts he consulted believe his takeover scenario—a group of K.G.B. agents disrupt the country's computerized communications, production, and distribution systems—could not happen.

ABC discounts the importance of this. "It's just a conceit to bring us to the present," says Bob Wright, publicity chief. Wrye has explained that the film's purpose is to "make us think about what our values are, and about the responsibilities of being an American."

Life in the United States 10 years after the takeover is grim indeed, according to the script. Fresh produce is rare, and no one has bought a new car in 10 years. There is a general feeling of hopelessness, and widespread abuse of drugs and alcohol. Ironically, the current widespread abuse of drugs and alcohol in this country can be seen weekly as the plot device for NBC's *Miami Vice*.

"I think it's interesting that to show what life is like 10 years after Soviet occupation they've chosen a depressed town in Nebraska five years after Reagan," observes Richard Deats, interfaith director for the Fellowship of

Back In The USSR . . .

What would the United States do if it found itself the victor in a war with the Soviets? Recently declassified documents from the Truman era—offer some indication of what American objectives would be. "Essentially," says Robert Jervis of Columbia University, who has studied the papers, "we change their domestic system, reduce their power, but don't occupy them."

Under the heading "Impossibilities," the policy planning staff of the State Department wrote in a paper known as *Document 22* that "we must assume that it will not be profitable for us to occupy and take under our military administration the entire territory of the Soviet Union." Why not? The country is simply too large, the population too different from us in "language and custom." And besides, it is not likely, the policy

planners wrote, that the Soviet leadership would surrender unconditionally. And after they gave up, many of their comrades would go underground and form guerilla bands.

What the United States would strive for is not domination (which we achieved over Germany and Japan after World War II) but a "political settlement." While America would insist that the new leadership of the country be friendly to the U.S. and non-Communist, we would probably "have to continue to deal . . . with Russian authorities of whom we will not entirely approve." Who would rule? "It is plain," the policy planners wrote, "that we must make a determined effort to avoid taking responsibility" for that. While we would allow the speedy return of exiles, we would not select a leader among them. And we would let the new government handle de-communization ("through the traditionally thorough procedures of Russian civil war"), not do it ourselves.

—B.B.

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Olson is resisting ABC's invasion

Reconciliation (FOR) in Nyack, New York. Kelly Cannard of FOR is coordinating a national letter-writing campaign, aimed at ABC, to protest the film's premise. She hopes to initiate a dialogue with the company, and offer alternative programming ideas that are more likely, she believes, to promote US-USSR understanding.

Betty Olson of Nebraskans for Peace, a statewide group of approximately 1000 members based in Lincoln, Nebraska (where filming may also take place), has voiced concerns about the film to ABC and to local newspapers. Olson herself has been the subject of several local editorials. "Let's not mislead ABC-TV into thinking Nebraska is too narrow-minded to allow an 'off the wall' drama to be filmed in Nebraska," argued the Beatrice (Neb.) *Daily Sun*. An editorial in the Omaha *World Herald*, entitled "Let the Cameras Roll, Ms. Olson," chided her for prejudging the film.

"We need to plan carefully," Olson says, referring to future protests, "because we're looked on now as trying to prevent economic benefit to the state."

Amerika will be filmed, as well, in one large Midwest city. The initial choice, Chicago, is being reconsidered.

ROCKY ROAD

And what about the Russians, already reeling from *Rocky IV*? Soviet spokesman Malakhov seems genuinely puzzled by the series. "I think this is some sort of undertaking like that book, *What Will Happen to You When the Soviets Take Over*," he says. "I don't think they contribute to an understanding between the two countries."

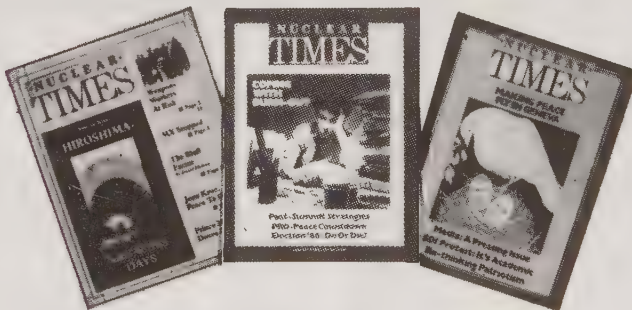
In a recent article, former *New York Times* Moscow correspondent David Shipler considered what this country's reaction would be if the Russians began producing films about a conquest of the Soviet Union by the United States. "We might rightly accuse them of whipping up hysteria, anti-American hatred, and

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NEW CAMPAIGN

INFACT Puts Heat on G.E.

international tension," he wrote. "And we would have some reason to fear the effects on their population, as we ourselves might now worry about the influence of this genre of entertainment on young Americans." Young Americans have had no scarcity of this genre of entertainment lately, due to the popular success of Chuck Norris's *Invasion U.S.A.* and John Milius's *Red Dawn*.

One expert in political psychology, however, believes that Shipler's view may be overstated. "I don't think the magnitude of the effect [of *Amerika*] will be very great," observes Robert Jervis, a professor of political science at Columbia University in New York City. Some viewers might become agitated, Jervis says, "but it won't convert anyone."

If concerns about poisoning the climate for detente does not derail *Amerika*, other, distinctly apolitical ones, might. "My opinion is they [ABC] won't do it," says David Klein, news editor of *Electronic Media*, a business weekly. "This has got to be one of the most expensive mini-series ever." On January 1, ABC merged with Capital Cities Communications, which runs a lean operation, Klein notes.

Some industry insiders claim that *Amerika* has few friends within ABC and that its status is already in doubt. "The worst thing the peace groups could do is to take some very public action, like sitting in at the film site," says Josh Baran, a media consultant in Los Angeles who spearheaded peace movement publicity for *The Day After* in 1983. "Even a major letter-writing campaign could backfire." He cites what happened to Michael Cimino's film *The Year of the Dragon*: after Chinese-American groups protested publicly that the film was racist, box office business increased dramatically. Baran fears that public protest may just force ABC to commit to the project. ABC, he says, would then "come off looking like the defenders of free speech."

Whatever the fate of the series, to some it represents, at the very least, a lost opportunity. "My first thought was, this show could be good if it shows Americans what it's like to be invaded," says Robert English, Soviet expert for the Committee for National Security, in Washington, D.C. "Americans don't understand how it [invasion] changes the history and character of a nation, and that lack of knowledge plays a great role in our dealings with the Soviet Union."

English maintains that a bloodless coup is not going to give an accurate picture of that experience. "*The Day After*," he says, "seems a far more possible scenario than this one to happen in our lifetime."

—Barbara Bedway

After over a year of nationwide campaigning against the leading role in the arms race played by corporate weapons makers, INFACT has announced a single corporate campaign target: General Electric (GE). Known to millions of American consumers as the home appliance manufacturer that "Brings Good Things to Life," GE is also the sixth largest U.S. defense contractor, with 18 percent of its annual \$27.9 billion sales in weapons parts and systems.

The image of David and Goliath springs to mind, but INFACT—a grass-roots organization that fights abuses by transnational corporations—enters the struggle with more than a slingshot. The group provided leadership and grass-roots punch to the seven-year Nestle boycott, which ended in a rare victory in January 1984. Taking on GE is not a symbolic act of protest or a public education campaign. "We're in this campaign to make concrete changes," says Nancy Cole, INFACT's executive director. "Our goal is to get GE out of the nuclear weapons business."

GE has been in that business now for over 40 years. A team of two GE scientists and a University of Minnesota professor was the first to successfully isolate uranium 235, the "powder" in the nuclear keg, in 1940. Business has burgeoned into a billion-dollar profit machine,

producing parts for dozens of weapons systems, including the B-1 and Stealth bombers, the MX and Trident II missiles. GE's FY 1985 contract awards for Star Wars research will exceed \$6.5 million. Cole describes GE as a major hub in the nuclear weapons production wheel. "Forcing changes at GE," she says, "can have a powerful effect on the entire weapons industry."

GE spokesman Jack Batty defends the company's nuclear weapons work, explaining that "when you're in a business, you put your best foot forward. There's an arms buildup and we have the capability to provide the government [with arms]." GE would not comment on what the company's response will be to the INFACT campaign.

GE's window of vulnerability to grass-roots pressure is about \$3.9 billion wide—the figure for its 1984 consumer sales revenues. Unlike many big weapons corporations, a significant portion of GE's product line, and image, is oriented to the home consumer. In 1980, a small group of activists in Cincinnati, Ohio, launched a GE boycott which has elicited no public response from the company.

INFACT has not called a nationwide GE boycott, but has signalled readiness to use it and other economic pressures to influence GE. Campaign centers in Boston, Chicago, and the Twin Cities are organizing a postcard drive addressed to GE's Chief Executive Officer, Jack Welch, hoping to generate 75,000 postcards in six weeks. "First," says Cole, "we're giving them a chance to respond to our challenge: to live up to their motto."

—Jacqueline Orr

Wrap-Up

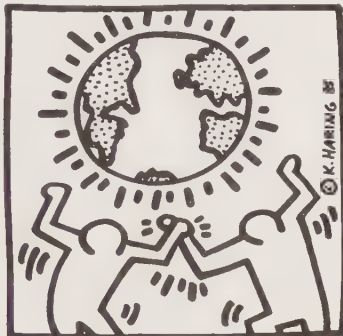
At their recent national conference **Catholic bishops** voted to form a committee to examine whether their 1983 peace pastoral's conditional "moral acceptance" of nuclear weapons should be rescinded in light of the continuing arms race Who has turned up as head of the new right-wing campus watchdog group, **Accuracy in Academia?** Former *enfant terrible* congressman, **John LeBoutillier** Latest Council for a Livable World Senate endorsements: **Tom Daschle** in South Dakota, **Harriett Woods** in Missouri, **Don Siegelman** in Alabama (he'll oppose Jeremiah Denton) and **John Evans** in Idaho The Pentagon has built and tested **doomsday trucks** that would be used by a president and his generals in the event of a nuclear war. After fleeing for their lives in a jet, they would return to earth and set up camp in an 18-wheel tractor trailer hardened against nuclear blast and protected from radiation. With supplies stored in advance in the countryside, the command centers "might be able to conduct sustained operations indefinitely," according to a congressional study New "downwinders"-type controversy is developing in the vicinity of the **Hanford Nuclear Reservation** in Washington state in the wake of reports of numerous, unexplained premature deaths from cancer and heart disease among nearby residents The prison sentence of Plowshares activist **Helen Woodson** was reduced by the judge from 18 to 12 years **President Reagan** said on December 4 that he had told Gorbachev that the differences between the two countries would disappear "if suddenly there was a threat to this world from **some other species** from another planet." He also told the Soviet leader that "the Hand of Providence" was guiding him on Star Wars. Reagan's remarks were largely ignored by the media

Ideas That Work



It seems nothing short of a nuclear showdown would prod music industry superstars into producing an antinuclear anthem along the lines of "We Are The World." But the Geneva Summit was inspiration enough for grass-roots activists in Pennsylvania, who created a catchy, highly-professional pop song urging Reagan and Gorbachev to get serious about negotiating an end to the arms race. Within days, "2-4-1: Summit Up" had become the unofficial theme song of activists organizing around the Summit. Now it has taken on a life of its own.

The entire project—song and three-minute video—came together almost



instantaneously. Jim Punkre, an advertising and promotion consultant, wrote the song—his first—at 55 m.p.h. on a Pennsylvania highway one month before the Summit. "I was coming back from visiting my daughters, who are 11 and nine," Punkre says, "and I realized that for the first time they had really seemed to grasp the precariousness of things. So I wrote this song to show them that something positive could be done." Punkre also provided the financial backing for the song.

The way "2-4-1" came together is an inspiring model of cooperation. "People left their egos at the door," Punkre says. The bulk of the labor, including technical recording assistance, was donated or provided at a hefty discount. Jim Scott, former guitarist with the Paul Winter Consort, arranged the song and sang the lead male vocals. (Scott's agent is a member of Lehigh Valley Action for Nuclear Disarmament—LVAND—the project's organizing group.) Well-known New York City artist Keith Haring provided free graphics for a button, poster and tape cassette cover. Around 200 residents of Lehigh Valley—including

three-year-olds, grandparents, and businesspeople—came together to sing the anthemic chorus. ("Two for one, Counting on you, To make peace come true").

"We really pulled together a diverse crowd," says Kay Bechtel, press contact for LVAND. "And because we got church choirs to participate, we were finally able to involve the black community."

Despite a frenetic timetable—within three weeks the Summit would be history—LVAND conquered bureaucracy and won endorsements from the Freeze Campaign, CALC, WAND, the Center for Defense Information, and other national groups. The song was sung by the entire plenary on the final day of the Freeze Convention in Chicago. SANE plugged "2-4-1" in a national mailing, which helped to get it performed around summit-time in over 50 locations across the country, including Texas and Alaska.

Live performances of the song in Pennsylvania received heavy local media coverage. It was played by many radio stations in the state, and broadcast over the radio networks of CBS, NBC, ABC, National Public Radio, and Radio 74 in Europe. During the Summit, the song was played hourly on a French radio station that reaches Geneva. (It's not impossible that Reagan and Gorbachev heard it.) Stories on the group went out on the AP wire, and CBS-network television did a segment on the project.

Organizers also won support from their Republican congressman, Don Ritter, an MX supporter who voted against the nuclear freeze. After attending the song's premiere in Allentown, Ritter said that "it allows Congressional leaders to really feel what peace is about, instead of just talking and thinking about it," and arranged for the song to be broadcast over the Voice of America.

While the almost miraculous success of this effort may be impossible to duplicate, LVAND members insist that the energy and hope unleashed in any community by such a project is practically guaranteed, and is certain to involve more than the "usual suspects." Organizers point out that local, untapped musical talent exists almost everywhere. LVAND is offering workshops on the guiding principle behind their effort: that more of the movement's energy and resources must go into the kind of positive cooperative outreach embodied by the song. Hearing "2-4-1" might be the catalyst needed to get you going on your own effort, or you might just want to perform it in a concert or benefit. The June summit ensures continued relevance. Tapes are available for \$5 plus 75 cents postage. For workshop and/or organizing information, contact: LVAND, 1213 Chew St, Allentown, PA 18102 (215) 434-1727.

—Renata Rizzo

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Shedding Light on Burn-out

Debbie Crisp started a peace group in Amarillo, Texas—an area so conservative even the Mondale campaign didn't want their help. She was used to coming home to hate mail and hate messages on her answering machine. "Meanwhile my kids were out protesting with me more than at the park," she says. In desperation, Crisp wrote to her small membership asking for help. A month later she got her first response—from someone who hadn't understood the letter.

Judith Ann Scheckel, a veteran activist on the staff of the Traprock Peace Center in Deerfield, Massachusetts, found she woke up thinking about the previous night's depressing headlines. "I was getting more agitated at work, less tolerant of people, more brusque," she recalls.

After a year of struggling to organize in Iowa City, Joan Crowe is blunt about her reasons for leaving the movement to enter nursing school: "You pay attention for only so long to things you can do nothing about."

It may not be surprising that the word "burn-out" has become a recurrent theme sounded in the peace movement. After years of intensive work, many activists are struggling with the realization that not a single weapons system has been stopped. Some have moved into areas of social activism with more immediate rewards; others are simply organizing more and enjoying it less.

One problem with addressing burn-out is that the word summons up an enormous spectrum of complaints. At one end are relatively minor problems like irritability and decreased effectiveness. At the other are profound despair over America, the values that keep the arms race going, humanity itself. In between are tales of neglected health, ignored families, marital and social problems, frustration with movement policy, and the strains of living in a reactive mode. Some people are having problems on all of these levels at once. But many are now recognizing the syndrome, and taking steps to alleviate or surmount it.

GOING FOR THE BURN

Even in supportive parts of the country a common problem is isolation. Susan Bryer headed a record-setting fund-raising campaign for Freeze Voter '84 in

Sonoma County, California. When even Sonoma went for Reagan, Bryer felt "like a loner in my own country."

Just caring for peace in a land of yuppies is isolating for many. "Most of my friends are doing very well economically," says Sarah Brooks, who was active in her church's peace group in Wilmington, Delaware. "Who wants to rock the boat and talk about nuclear war?"

Related to this is the simple fact that it's not 1982 anymore. "Four years ago people felt part of a whole," says Betsy Taylor, who has been involved with SANE and the Freeze Campaign on the national level. "They saw some chance of achieving their goal because everyone else was working for it too. That was tremendously energizing. But today people can feel isolated in local initiatives. You can be very intimidated by the odds against success."

Even limiting the term "burn-out" to its standard meaning—debilitating overwork—raises a provocative image: a yearly calendar filled with meetings and three minutes left on the Doomsday Clock. "Disarmament workers tend to feel if they take a vacation there'll be a nuclear war," says Joe Sternlieb, coordinator of the East Side Freeze in New York City. He's not being flip—in the last two years he has taken off 14 days.

Some people are suspicious of the word "burn-out" because it can be a catchall excuse for a variety of self-induced problems. "Burn-out is bullshit," says Freeze Voter Director Chip Reynolds, who points out that many people thrive on hard work. "People without clear direction may get frazzled at work. Some overwork themselves deliberately. But a lot of this is easily avoidable. If I'm tired I take a day off."

But according to Andrea Ayyazian, director of the Exchange Project for the Peace Development Fund (PDF) in Amherst, Massachusetts, Reynolds' view amounts to wishing away the problem. Having worked 18 months as a field organizer for grass-roots peace groups, Ayyazian insists that fatigue is a genuine problem in the movement today. One reason she cites for this is "the tremendous guilt for taking time off." Another is near-poverty, a growing problem as many activists reach their 30s and want to have children, or houses, or cars. Sternlieb puts part of the blame on "too many symbolic actions, things that don't make anyone change anything but take as much energy to organize as things that do."

Activists suffer socially, as well. Many complain of the limited time, and opportunity, to build or initiate personal and sexual relationships.



Gene Carroll: Ready to "fight on," after seven weeks off

The enormity of the nuclear issue activists confront daily accelerates burn-out. "If you work for the homeless," Sternlieb says, "you may go home exhausted, but it's conceivable you can feel you've actually helped. That's much harder to feel when you're working for a comprehensive test ban."

And then there's the final problem: the issue is not only vast, it's terrifying. "If you let it inside you can go crazy thinking about it," says Randy Kehler, former director of the National Freeze Campaign, "and crazy with anger at the people who are letting it go on."

BURN TREATMENT

The real question, then, might be not "Are you burning out?," but "What can you do to feel better?"

One answer is to take time off. Today many committed activists have faced the need for a period of reassessment that they feel corresponds to a transitional stage in the movement itself. While the decision to leave fulltime work may have been difficult, many in this group hope to come back recharged, with a clearer sense of where they're going and how they can continue.

Judith Ann Scheckel has decided to spend six months in Georgia with a group that builds low-income housing, confident that "if I've organized well I should be able to leave." In addition to a change of place, her hiatus will offer a chance to do work with tangible results and to address areas of her life that have long been on hold. "I'm thinking of learning to quilt," she adds, with a touch of defiance.

Gene Carroll, director of field and outreach for the national Freeze Campaign, asked for—and got—a six-week leave from work last fall, which he spent in Europe with his wife. On the day he was scheduled to return to the States, Carroll was rushed to a Belgian hospital for an emergency appendectomy. If this was a message of some sort, Carroll disregarded it. "The time away from my job," he says, "gave me enough distance so that—mentally—I came back recharged and ready to fight on."

For Betsy Taylor, and a number of others recently, the answer was to return to school. Taylor is getting a masters in public administration at Harvard and taking time to assess what the past five years of movement activism has meant. Taylor, who cheerfully admits to having been "a basketcase," explains: "The past five years were so frantic, always trying to do what was right with no time to think." Taylor also meets with a study group of Boston-area activists, all of them trying to "redefine how we can help."

Thanks to the PDF, Randy Kehler has gotten what everyone refers to as "a grant to think." It's almost absurd to



Harvard psychologist Margaret Brenman-Gibson prescribes long-term perspective

connect Kehler with the word "burn-out"; he resigned his position largely for health reasons and has spent much of his year off crisscrossing the country to give speeches and talk with activists. But he's serious about spending his next six months as a "recluse" with his family, reading up on history "and the many analyses of where we could be going that I just never had time to read." He also hopes his sabbatical can serve as an example. "I'm excited to see people take this R&R time," he declares. "The movement should encourage more of it. It's not a distress signal; it's a sign of health."

DANCING IN THE DARK

Not everyone can take time off; not everybody needs to. But everyone can benefit from learning to fend off burn-out. And just as the term covers a range of large and small ailments, the remedies for it may have to be broad. While personal and organizational strategies can help people work better and feel better about it, longer term measures can keep them going—in everyone's favorite term—"for the long haul."

For Ayvazian, one solution is to "do less and do it better. I'm interested in people doing what they can for a lifetime, not giving it their all for a while. I tell people to do us all a favor and go to bed. Go dancing. Do whatever frivolous thing keeps you going. We can't afford to lose people because they're not having enough fun." The movement, she adds, should "lose its inbred notion that we're all to work incredibly hard and be poorly paid and give up materialistic desires. Let's stop exploiting people and just get smart about money."

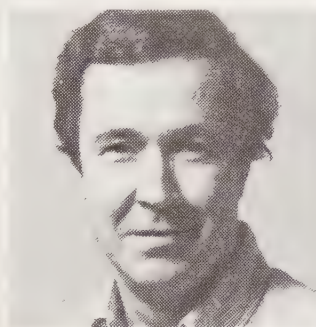
Earning a decent salary is vital for effective work, says Tom Roderick, New York City coordinator for Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR). Roderick decided to tackle the challenge of fundraising and has, as a result, never missed a paycheck. "That's had a lot of impact on my personal life," he says. "I got married in 1981, and we had a baby 10 months ago. If I were in a job that couldn't give me a consistent salary, we would've had to make a choice between the movement or a family."

Pacing yourself is high on the list of remedies. Linda Stout claims she was the only member of the North Carolina SANE office to go home at a reasonable hour (despite resentment from co-workers)—and the only one who didn't collapse the day after the election. Now she argues that managers should keep track of the comp time workers are earning by working nights, and force them to take it.

Sternlieb also has suggestions for improving how people work. One tactic is to vary not only *what* jobs you do—but *how* you do them. If every month you do a newsletter the same way, for example, you no longer learn from it, he says. Since it helps to learn how others handle these tasks, Sternlieb recommends a tactic common in large nonprofit groups: sending staff around the country to meet with other groups for "crosstraining." That way "you get new ideas, feel less isolated, and get a boost in the middle of the year," Sternlieb says.

SUCCESS STORIES

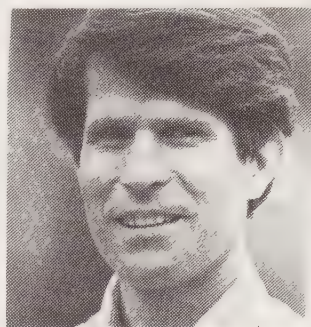
It's also important for the movement to aim for realizable goals and celebrate successes, however small. ESR's



Roderick: Earn a decent living



Cottom: Preventive medicine



Kehler: R&R advocate



Taylor: Back to school

Roderick points to a model peace education program that has recently been established within a large New York City school district. "We haven't transformed the whole city," Roderick adds, "but it's certainly a step in the right direction."

Carolyn Cottom, former chair of the Nashville Freeze Campaign, agrees that "a step toward a goal is a success." Cottom has given several burn-out-prevention workshops in her area ("some people who need it most are too busy to come"), and her approach is to move people from an orientation on task to one on process. "We can get so caught up in time-limited objectives that we forget to consider how carefully, how lovingly we're doing our work," she says. "We can also forget how most change takes place not in 'events' but in one-on-one relationships. A large part of lobbying, for instance, isn't changing minds but just building friendships."

One of Cottom's techniques is to have people list five "successes" they've had in the past few weeks, then set a "process goal" they can achieve soon—anything from making a new contact or talking to a neighbor to signing up more volunteers. Groups can benefit by "admitting it's okay to cancel an event that looks unpromising and just focus on building the organization that month," she believes.

The national network Interhelp, based in Northampton, Massachusetts, is particularly concerned with personal support. In the "personal renewal" workshops they give across the country at least half the time is devoted to having people describe how it feels to do their work. "A lot of crying goes on," says Kevin McVeigh, national office coordinator. "People admit to feeling cynical, to the grief they feel over our chances in the Reagan years. Some people have to come out and admit nothing's changed—just to feel what it's like to say that." But it's better to do this, he insists, than to "plug along and shove the feelings aside."

Interhelp also trains people to recognize when they need help and learn to ask

for it. Support groups are an obvious vehicle, and the network has a manual explaining how to establish one. But McVeigh also suggests smaller measures, including a "buddy system" in which two people call each other every week to ask how they're feeling and what their goals are for the week.

PLAYING IT COOL

But perhaps the most effective burn remedy is having a long-range view of why you're doing this work in the first place and how you'd feel if you ignored it, says Harvard psychologist Margaret Brenman-Gibson, a veteran activist, who, it can safely be said, has not burned-out. Part of that view is "a vision of what the world might be and how we might possibly get there."

There are different types of people in this movement, Brenman-Gibson continues. "Some add peace work on to their central interests, some have put those interests aside and now want to reclaim them, some are committed forever. It's idle to talk about a cure for burn-out that addresses them all. But what everyone needs—and the committed ones need most—is perspective." Brenman-Gibson feels the movement should launch a broad educational program explaining how things change historically and why in certain periods change is slow. This should be the natural equipment of every activist. "That way you're not just putting salve on your wounds," says Brenman-Gibson, "but improving your immune system."

"If we look at this as a short-term effort, we're bound to get burned-out," adds Jeff Patterson, a national board member of Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) who lives in Madison, Wisconsin. Patterson cautions against groups throwing all of their efforts into specific events—like the Geneva Summit—which are likely to end in disappointment. "Nuclear weapons are just a symptom of an underlying problem—our propensity for violence," he says. "That's going to go on for the rest of our lives."

Patterson, who has a medical practice and who works for PSR "every spare chance" he gets, says his religion—he's a Quaker—helps keep him going, as does reading Gandhi. Education must begin to address the role that nonviolent movements have played in history, Patterson says, adding "looking at the whole picture is comforting."

Peace for the Long Haul, a new Interhelp project combining publications, consultations, training workshops and retreats, may help to start the process Patterson and Brenman-Gibson describe. Its goal is to promote a long-term vision for the movement and give people the skills they'll need to pursue it. "Instead of telling people to work on this election or this weapons system," says McVeigh, "we want to be able to say: 'consider this life'—then train people to live it."

McVeigh adds, "If you've never experienced hopelessness, I don't trust your hope." Contemplating the odds, he feels, may even make people stronger than those with easily shaken optimism. "Maybe we won't reach our goal in our lifetime," he says, "maybe we'll fail. But it's possible this is worth doing anyway because there's no other way to live."

The moral seems to be that no one can put life on hold to stop the arms race. With years of work ahead for the movement, people have to determine the psychological consequences of working for peace all their lives. The signs indicate that the movement may not be giving up, but gearing up. Amarillo may be a tough town to take on, but Debbie Crisp says it wouldn't take much for her to re-form her group: "Two interested people would do it."

Burn-out is too final a word, concludes Judy Scheckel. "It sounds like blowing out a match," she complains. "I think this time may be more like the seasons. We're preparing for a new growth cycle, the way fall prepares for spring." —Cathy Cevoli

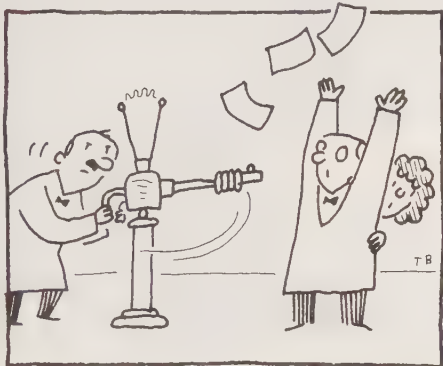
The social and marital problems associated with activism will be examined next issue in Part II of this article.

Star Struck

Tracking Space Weapons



The testing of the "super" X-ray laser last March 23 was probably meant to generate credibility, cash and consensus behind the SDI program—the kind of momentum the Reagan Administration's Star Wars rhetoric sorely needs. The test in Nevada itself was top secret, but within a few months the scientific press was reporting that the results showed that the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory's new, nuclear-powered laser was six orders of magnitude brighter than the original version.



But now many are labeling the test a failure, and the White House funding recommendations for the laser project—one of the keys to the entire SDI program—has been cut to \$60 million (from an expected \$100 million). That cutback seems tied to the scandal that has percolated out of the March 23 test.

Instead of building momentum for the space weapon, reporters and scientists close to the lab now say that the test controversy raises serious questions about both the laser and the lab:

- The "success" of the March test was due to an error in interpreting measurement data, *Science* magazine's R. Jeffrey Smith reported in November. And, he revealed, a key focusing element of the weapon has proven defective.

- Despite receiving classified reports in June—from the Los Alamos weapons lab, and from within Livermore—which showed the data were faulty, George Miller, Livermore's deputy associate director, used the erroneous data in a report to the Pentagon the following month, Robert Scheer reported recently in the *Los Angeles Times*.

- Despite the "physics problems" with the device, the lab proceeded with plans for another test—probably to avoid causing political problems for the SDI program. "Miller didn't want to delay it

because it would look bad," one federal scientist told Scheer. This prompted 30 members of Congress, in early December, to send a letter to the Pentagon urging postponement of the test and calling for an investigation of the X-ray laser program by the General Accounting Office.

- Although the lab denies it, the resignation this summer of two key researchers-managers working on the X-ray laser may indicate a general dissatisfaction with the project within Livermore. In fact, the majority of scientists at the lab are opposed to the X-ray project, *Science's* Smith told me.

- Some scientists believe that the nuclear-driven laser would function well only as an offensive, anti-satellite weapon in permanent orbit, and will not work as an anti-missile, Smith said.

- The FBI, meanwhile, has launched a major investigation of leaks of classified information from Livermore to the press.

Laboratory officials and scientists close to the lab describe a division of Livermore into pro- and anti-laser camps, which could have a long-term effect not just on the X-ray, but on the lab itself. Smith said in a telephone interview that "the lab is divided between [Lowell] Wood and [Edward] Teller, who are for the laser, and everybody else." (Wood, a protege of Teller, helps direct research for the lab.)

Scientists outside the lab pointed to the resignations or "reassignments" of Roy Woodruff and Tom Weaver, who had both been managers of the X-ray project, as evidence of internal dissent at Livermore. Weaver moved from manager to a "chief scientist" position this summer, according to Mike Ross, a lab spokesman. Woodruff, associate director for defense systems, requested reassignment October 31. He was partly responsible for the X-ray laser but lab officials claim that his so-called "reassignment" had nothing to do with dissatisfaction.

Smith said, however, that the controversy over reporting erroneous data was "one of the main reasons Woodruff resigned," and a scientist who once worked with the people building the X-ray laser confirmed this in a conversation with me.

Woodruff's duties have been taken over by George Miller, the Livermore official said to have ignored the measurement errors for the March 23 test.

But even if the managers at the lab have the political will to push the X-ray research further, and are able to overcome the suspicions of their own researchers—and discover how to measure the strength of their own device—they still have to come up with a practical weapon. And that will be the greatest challenge of all. —Douglas Lavin

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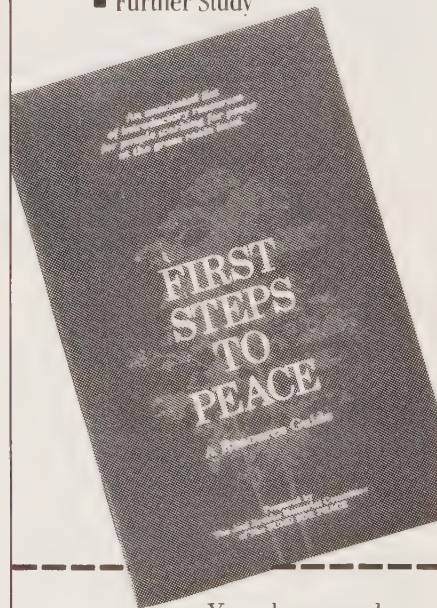
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BY CHIP REYNOLDS

1986: Capture The Senate

The fate of our effort to reverse the nuclear arms race may well be decided in the 1986 elections.

I'm not suggesting that the reelection of the present Congress would result in nuclear war. But there is no doubt that the reelection of the Senate "class of 1980" would cripple our movement and seriously hinder our legislative work for years to come.

Prior to 1980, Jesse Helms and his cohorts, though noisy, had minimal impact on public policy. The election of 1980 changed this radically. The 15 certifiable right wingers elected to the Senate in that year changed the entire face of Congress.

Though our movement expanded in the early years following that election, we have had precious little to show in the way of major legislative victories. On vote after vote we have lost out by very narrow margins.

The reelection of this class of 1980 would solidify right-wing support, and virtually ensure a major "Helms bloc" in the Senate for the rest of the century. Further, such an outcome would consolidate the momentum of the ultra-right wing going into the 1988 presidential election. The right wing knows this as well, and has been positioning candidates, activists and money for 1986 for some time.

Keep in mind that in a typical election more than 90 percent of the incumbents are reelected to office. The biggest change in Congress comes through retirements or the defeat of marginal freshmen. In 1986 we have an extraordinary number of hawkish, first-term senators up for election in marginal seats. According to an analysis commissioned by the Freeze Voter board, there will be more "marginal" seats held by arms control opponents up for grabs in 1986 than at any time between now and the early 1990s. Eleven of the 15 first-term hawks up for reelection won 53 percent or less of the vote in 1980. Polls are already showing challengers leading hawkish first-term senators in several states.

If we miss this opportunity, the long-term prospects for defeating the class of 1980 will virtually disappear, along with the short-term prospect for building an arms control majority in the Senate. Over the next six years these senators would consolidate their political support



and rise to senior positions in key committees. Another obstacle to progress: In 1988 we will likely need to focus our energies on defending the many arms control proponents up for reelection rather than trying to defeat opponents.

And we should be under no illusion that we could change the political positions of the hawks in the future. Once established in office, a representative's voting pattern is very difficult to change. In a study of voting patterns across 115 congressional districts, I found that we gained support for our positions only by defeating opponents or by lobbying those with no commitment one way or another. Once against us, and established in office, a senator becomes an opponent for life.

The class of 1980 as a whole has a particularly abysmal record. Its combined arms control voting record is 25 percent, compared with a combined average voting record of 50 percent among those who were in office prior to 1980. This has been sufficient to give the Reaganites a majority on the MX, SDI funding, the freeze resolution, military budget increases, ASAT testing, nerve gas production, and many other important votes. Winning half of the 11 seats held by opponents and successfully defending our friends in office would put us back in rough parity in the Senate, greatly

improving our lobbying position and giving us a much needed majority on many votes.

The 1986 elections will also have significant implications for how Reagan handles arms control and the summit meetings for the remainder of his term. Success by his philosophical allies would strengthen his hard-line hand. A perceived repudiation of the hard liners would give our forces the opportunity to push for greater leadership by the Congress.

Victories for conservatives have helped fuel the contention that the American public *wants* a hard-line position on the arms race. We have also seen moderate Republicans driven from office, weakened or pushed to right-wing positions by the pressure from the ultra-conservative wing of the party. Even many Democrats look to Reagan's success and claim the road to political success is through emulation.

The only way we can stop this drift is by showing that we can consistently elect senators like Paul Simon and Tom Harkin. These two strong leaders for the freeze got elected over much more conservative incumbents in the midst of the Reagan landslide in 1984. We must demonstrate that we can continue to turn our popular support into results that can

be counted—and counted on—if we expect to have the kind of impact that will be needed to actually reverse the nuclear arms race.

Beyond that, we must recognize that popular support is what keeps our movement alive. But this popular support is based on seeing tangible prospects for success. With an entrenchment of opposition in the Senate it will be difficult to keep up our momentum for legislative action and grass-roots organizing.

We have the opportunity to turn the class of 1980 around—to put Jesse Helms back on the fringe and our movement back on the upswing—if we focus our efforts now. Whatever our organizational commitments, we must all find a way to get involved. Success or failure will depend on our ability to give electoral organizing a very high priority in this critical year. □

Chip Reynolds is national director of Freeze Voter in Washington, D.C.

BY DAVID SCHMIDT

1988: Sweep The Country

It's time for activists to create a climate favorable to pro-peace candidates. One way—perhaps the best way—is by sponsoring a national referendum on the arms race in 1988.

Although there is no formal legal procedure for a national referendum, state and local votes on a nuclear freeze, nuclear free zones, and Jobs With Peace initiatives during the past five years have shown the feasibility of a simultaneous, coordinated referendum effort on a larger scale than the nation has ever seen.

The freeze referendum effort of 1982 enabled roughly 30 percent of the nation's voters to cast ballots on arms control questions. Not only was the outcome (60 percent favored the freeze) a great victory for the peace movement, but so was the process. The referendum campaigns created a political organizing machine that recruited and trained tens of thousands of volunteers, produced dozens of local peace groups and coalitions, and expanded and energized existing groups.

Why do it again? First of all, as a proven strategy for education, publicity and organizing, a referendum can't be beat. Where the 1982 campaigns made "nuclear weapons freeze" a household phrase, the 1988 campaigns can do the same for, say, "comprehensive test ban" and "no-first-use." Secondly, where the 1982 campaigns were purely advisory—that is, they required no more than the sending of a letter from mayors and

原爆死

GENBAKU SHI KILLED BY THE ATOMIC BOMB



On the morning of August 6, 1945, five of these men were imprisoned within the city of Hiroshima. Their jail cell was less than one kilometer from the point where the *Enola Gay's* bombardier targeted his drop. These five men and several other American POWs died in the first use of an atomic weapon against a human population.

In the days immediately following the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, rumors about American POW fatalities began to circulate. In 1977, Professor Satoru Ubuki of Hiroshima University discovered a list of POW victims in a Foreign Ministry archive. The U.S. Army, when questioned about the list, said that a U.S. confirmation of the Japanese findings would be difficult. A 1973 fire in a military records center, they said, had destroyed relevant documents.

In late 1982, after a year of independent research, a documentary filmmaker received a telephone call from an employee of the Veterans Administration. The caller said: "The U.S. Army has the documents you are seeking." Those documents provided the factual basis for the documentary film, **GENBAKU SHI: KILLED BY THE ATOMIC BOMB**.

The hour long film follows a group of American fliers from their Pacific bases to their prison cells within the city of Hiroshima. From former members of the American and Japanese armed forces we learn the fate of the POWs who were being held. At the film's end we hear survivors of Hiroshima as they recall a day that became a nightmare of horror and death.

Although the number of deaths is miniscule compared with the more than 250,000 Japanese casualties of the bombs dropped at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the plight of the American prisoners is a particularly poignant testament to the indiscriminate nature of atomic warfare.

"American POWs Caught in Path of Atomic Bomb"

DALLAS TIMES HERALD, April 14, 1985

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GENBAKU SHI: KILLED BY THE ATOMIC BOMB is useful for community organizing, peace and conflict studies, draft counselling and general audiences concerned with the human dimension of nuclear weapons use. It is a 58 minute, color film available in the following formats: 16mm, 1/2" VHS, BETA, and 3/4" U-MATIC.

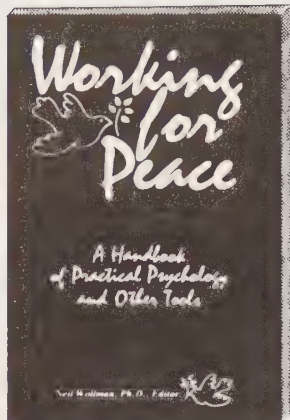
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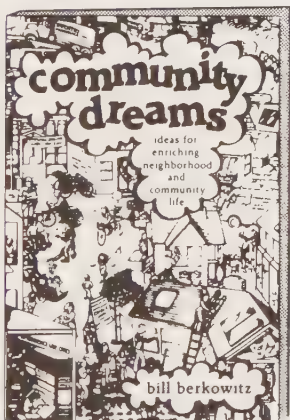
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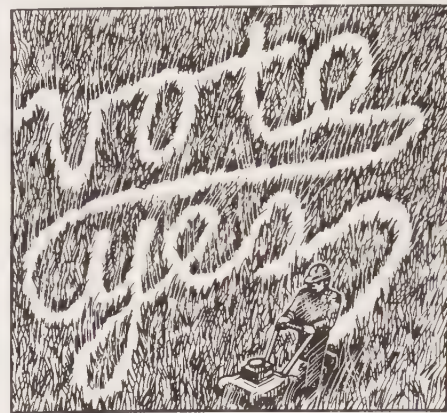
governors to the president—the 1988 campaigns could have, in some states, the legal teeth needed to put a bite on the arms race, such as binding laws requiring divestment of local government monies from nuclear weapons contractors. And finally, as activists at the recent Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign convention in Chicago widely agreed, the national peace groups need to go back to the grass roots to harness and unify the energies of the thousands of local peace groups which have sprung up in the last four years.

A national referendum could unite these diverse groups as never before, and it could have far greater impact than in 1982. With activists already organized in over 5000 peace groups, the issue could be on ballots in enough jurisdictions to double or even triple 1982's voter participation. Organizing and recruitment would take a quantum leap forward. And because 1988 is a presidential election year, referendums would push the issue to the forefront of delegate selection caucuses, primary elections, nominating conventions, and the fall campaign.

If a national referendum set the arms race at the top of the campaign agenda, presidential candidates would have to respond to this initiative on the peace movement's terms. This would be a dramatic reversal of 1984, when the issue of the arms race, and the movement itself, were relegated to inconsequential roles in the presidential race. Rather than play the same passive role, the movement must assume a position of influence early in the campaign—a position that can be secured by successful state and local referendum petition drives in 1987 and early 1988.

State and local referendums can also help set the issue agenda for Senate and House candidates. Even in small communities, referendums can spark enough publicity to put incumbents on the spot and boost pro-peace challengers. Activists are already experimenting with new ideas for statewide referendums this year in Oregon, Montana and Massachusetts.

A national referendum would also serve as a magnet for media coverage. It's big, new, and has a human-interest "hook," but it's not outrageous enough to alienate the general public. As petition drives are completed in each state, political commentators will be moved to speculate on the impact of the national effort. The referendum would banish the boredom of the 1984 presidential campaign, while creating an optimistic, can-do atmosphere about the peace movement that will capture the public



imagination.

The biggest obstacle to a national referendum involves legal technicalities. Procedures and deadlines for placing issues on the ballot differ from state to state and city to city, thus making standardized wording impossible. Courts have barred peace referendums from ballots in a few cases. These problems can be overcome, however, if referendum activists agree to a basic vehicle with options that can be added depending on local conditions.

For instance, every referendum could begin—and in some cases also end—with a non-binding resolution favoring reduction of nuclear arsenals, a no-first-use policy, comprehensive test ban, and an end to "Star Wars" testing and development. Options to be added might include binding provisions mandating specific state or local actions supporting these goals. Care must be taken, of course, to ensure that any binding provisions do not alienate voter support.

Another obstacle, but one which the peace movement is now well-equipped to surmount, is the required total of over six million signatures necessary to place referendums on ballots in every jurisdiction in all 50 states. Advance planning and training can shift resources sufficiently to meet local petition quotas.

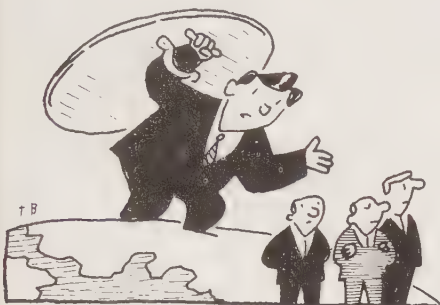
Although further study is needed to ascertain the opportunities for—and roadblocks in the way of—participation in a national referendum, it is clearly within the movement's capability. Just as clearly, the movement needs a new strategy to avoid a repeat of the 1984 debacle. Considering what will be at stake in 1988, the best alternative may well be to return to the grass-roots ballots of 1982—perhaps on a much bigger scale. □

The author is executive director of the Initiative Resource Center in Washington, D.C., a non-profit clearinghouse on initiative and referendum campaigns and procedures.

Notes From Abroad



President Reagan's determination to encase the Free World (or parts of it) in a missile-proof "Peace Shield" has presented the **European peace movements** with a new challenge. They have yet to come forward with a strong, concerted response to Star Wars, partly because of uncertainty about their own government's positions.



Selling Star Wars to the Europeans has proved to be no easy task. The "leak-proof" shield being advertised on this side of the Atlantic has aroused fears among NATO leaders that a supposedly invulnerable United States might cease to bother with the defense of Europe—and could be tempted to launch a first-strike on the Soviet Union. It has also embarrassingly undermined the pro-deterrence arguments used to foist the cruise and Pershing missiles on unwilling populations. These anxieties have not been laid to rest by the Reagan Administration's argument that even a partially effective shield would enhance deterrence by limiting the impact of a Soviet first strike against the United States, or by assurances that SDI-type systems will eventually protect Western Europe.

So far, the governments of France, Norway, Greece and Denmark have refused to take part in SDI research. But other governments have been moved by calls for NATO unity and tempted by a piece of the total R&D pie, allegedly worth \$26 billion over the next five years. Britain has now agreed to participate fully in the program, a decision that will help West German politicians who are pressing their government to follow suit.

For the peace movements, the rifts and contradictions in the alliance exposed by Star Wars offer a new opportunity to press their case—and to point out that disarmament measures would be a far safer, simpler and cheaper way of achieving the same ends. Leaders like E.P. Thompson and Mient-Jan Faber (of

the Dutch Interchurch Peace Council) are calling for a strong anti-Star Wars campaign. "This really could be the moment," writes Thompson, "for a new campaign and a new European appeal."

• In the wake of the **Dutch** government's decision to deploy 48 ground-launched cruise missiles in 1988—despite a massive petition campaign by the peace movement—many activists will concentrate on supporting the social democratic PvdA (Labor) party, which opposes deployment, in the 1986 election. (The present government, however, has signed a treaty with the United States that will make its decision binding for the next five years.) Others will turn to direct action at the Woensdrecht base, still under construction.

• The **Belgian** peace movement also suffered a serious setback when the promissile coalition government led by Wilfried Martens was reelected with a small majority. The Martens government has taken increasingly repressive measures against demonstrations at the Florennes base, banning assembly in groups larger than three and illegally jailing 18 nonviolent protesters without trial for almost a month.

• Activists who lament the passing of great demonstrations were pleasantly surprised by recent turn-outs in several European cities. More than 100,000 people, for example, rallied in London on

October 26. **The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament** (CND) has risen in membership from 75,000 in 1983 to more than 110,000, and is still rising.

• Contrary to the report in last month's Notes From Abroad, the *U.S.S. Iowa* did not call in Amsterdam in September. That visit was cancelled for unknown reasons. The *Iowa* was, however, met by demonstrators in **Denmark** and in **Norway**, and sparked debate in both countries about what government policy should be toward ships that may be carrying nuclear weapons. (Danish policy is not to accept nuclear weapons on its territory in peacetime.) As retired Admiral Gene LaRocque pointed out during a recent visit to Australia, the U.S. policy of neither confirming nor denying the presence of nuclear weapons on naval vessels is meant primarily to circumvent a country's antinuclear policies and to defuse opposition—not to confuse the Soviets. That policy is proving less and less effective, both in the North Atlantic and the Pacific. In **Japan**, the National Movement for Non-Deployment of Tomahawk has decided to hold open-ended hunger strikes during port calls by any ship believed to be carrying Tomahawk cruise missiles. The first such strike, held in Yokosuka (near Tokyo) to protest the presence of the submarine *U.S.S. Houston*, lasted four days.

—Maria Margaronis

SOVIET BUT NOT RUSSIAN

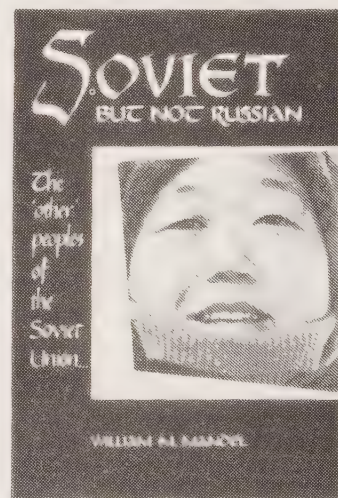
The 'Other' Peoples of the Soviet Union

Reagan calls it the "evil empire," but what is the reality? William Mandel, America's foremost Soviet expert, brings an objective and comprehensive account of the one-half of the USSR that is not Russian: Ukrainians, Baltic peoples, Armenians, Jews, Slavs, and the little known Near Eastern and Central Asian (mostly Moslem) Soviet peoples.

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A CRY FOR HELP FROM BATTLE STATION KEY WEST.

Construction of a "contingency forward base" is underway at the Naval Air Station, Key West, Fla., 90 miles from Cuba. This base is intended to offer "Flexible Response" to incidents as they occur in Central and South America.

SOURCE: U.S. Navy, Environmental Assessment, Truman Annex/Naval Air Station, Key West, Fla. Dated September 2, 1983.

I live here. I am a horrified Eyewitness to these war plans. To "combat" these plans, I wrote, with the help of Nuclear Free America, A Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance. I successfully petitioned the citizens of Key West to place this ordinance on the Nov. 5th ballot. **Democracy Was At Work.** A loud clear voice began to ring out, protesting nuclear weapons in Key West.

At the same time, opposition to the Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance sprang up and gathered strength. Another voice was heard, a very ugly one; "This is a Communist Conspiracy." Police harassment began.

The Nuclear Free Zone Campaign was told to get off the street or risk arrest. This happened about 20 times in approximately 25 days. No actual arrests occurred. The Nuclear Free Zone Campaign lodged complaints against the police, with the City Attorney, City Manager, Mayor, Commissioners and the ACLU. The Harassment continued.

November 2, 1985, I lodged a complaint with the State Attorney, charging the City of Key West with illegal harassment. The state attorney told me he would caution the Chief of Police, and advise him to desist.

November 3, 1985, I attended a public rally opposing the Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance. About 200 people were present. I begged these people to vote yes to the Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance. I was arrested handcuffed and put in the back of a paddywagon. Criminal charges were filed against me. I, (1 person) attending a public assembly of 200 people, have been charged with, **Failure To Obtain A Permit To Assemble.**

I am not guilty. I am one person speaking out. One person does not constitute an assembly. The Peace Movement is on trial here in Key West.

Please help anyway that you can. Help me to help protect the people of Central and South America. Please contribute to a legal defense fund, to help pay court costs, attorney's fees, etc. Make your check payable to: **In Defense Of Peace**, c/o Adler and Mittelberg, C.P.A.'s, P.A., 1570 Madruga Ave. #209, Coral Gables, Fla. 33146.

This Is A Cry For Help From Battle Station Key West.

The Nuclear Free Zone Ordinance Lost. WE WILL TRY AGAIN!!

Sincerely,
Patricia Axelrod
419½ William Street #1
Key West, Fla. 33040 305-296-4280

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

CALENDARS

Carry It On: The 1986 Peace Calendar from Syracuse Cultural Workers Project is the fifteenth edition, and features striking photographs of peoples' movements around the world. (\$8.95 each, 3 for \$21, 5 for \$33, including postage, from Syracuse Cultural Workers Project, Box 6367, Syracuse, NY 13217 315-474-1132.)

REPORTS

Arms Control and the Arms Race, with introductions by Bruce Russett and Fred Chernoff. These 14 articles originally appeared in *Scientific American*. The first part surveys the history of arms control negotiations (beginning with the H-bomb); the second examines particular issues (including Star Wars), and the third discusses the European theatre. Contributors include Herbert York, Sidney Drell, and chemical-warfare authority Matthew Meselson. (Yale University Press, \$13.95 paperback.)

The Verification Challenge: Problems and Promise of Strategic Nuclear Arms Control Verification, by Richard Scribner, William Metz, and Theodore Ralston. A committee of experts, including Roger Fisher, George Rathjens, and Herbert Scoville, Jr., has overseen this layperson's guide to the intricacies of verification. This survey assumes that while there will always be some uncertainty about compliance, this risk should always be compared to the dangers of having no treaty at all. (Birkhauser Boston, Inc., with the American Association for the Advancement of Science, \$15 paperback.)

Statement on the Illegality of Nuclear Warfare, by the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, Inc. This cogent analysis of "the status of nuclear weapons policies under international law" examines the use and *threatened* use of nuclear weapons—and finds both illegal. Includes updated bibliography. (\$4 from the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy, 225 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 212-334-8044.)

Countdown on SALT II, published by the Arms Control Association (ACA) and the Ploughshares Fund. This clear, attractively-designed 70-page report examines the treaty's history and makes a strong case for preserving SALT II limits on U.S. and Soviet strategic forces. Includes the text of the treaty. (Available for \$5 from ACA, 11 DuPont Circle NW, Washington, DC 20036 202-797-6450.)

Who Will Stop the Bomb? by Roger Molander and Robbie Nichols. A 150-page primer on nuclear proliferation, written for the layperson. Examines the



Detail from a Hiroshima mural

nuclear club—full, "defacto" and "prospective" members—and suggests how-to-stop-the-spread. (\$10.95 hardcover, from the Roosevelt Center, 316 Pennsylvania Av SE, Washington, DC 20003.)

BOOKS

The Militarization of Space: U.S. Policy, 1945–1984, by Paul B. Stares. This is not a complete history of the military uses of space—it concentrates on antisatellite (ASAT) weapons. When Reagan became president, Stares says, "the future of ASAT weapons was still very much in the balance." But under Reagan, "the chance for a significant antisatellite arms control agreement was lost—possibly forever." This "depressing prognosis" grows out of Stares' analysis of U.S. military space policy, beginning with Eisenhower's program of promoting the open civilian aspects of space while developing top-secret intelligence satellites. (Cornell University Press, \$25.00 hardcover.)

By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age, by Paul Boyer. A historian documents American reaction to the bomb on political, scientific, religious, literary and popular-culture fronts, from 1945 to 1950. The sheer volume of Boyer's documentation is astounding and fascinating. Perhaps most surprisingly, Boyer points out that every current "theme and image by which we express our nuclear fear today has its counterpart in the immediate post-Hiroshima period." (Pantheon, \$22.50 hardcover.)

Writing in a Nuclear Age, edited by Jim Schley. Published by New England Review/Bread Loaf Quarterly, this 230-page anthology is one of the best collections of antinuclear writing and poetry yet. Includes fine efforts by young writers and W.H. Auden, Grace Paley, Denise Levertov and Galway Kinnell. Robert Penn Warren's account of the Hiroshima bombing, "New Dawn," is amazing. (\$8.95 paper, plus \$1.50 postage, from University Press of New England, Hanover, NH 03755.)

GUIDES

Peace Resource Book 1986: A Comprehensive Guide to Issues, Groups, and Literature, edited by the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, with a foreword by Randall Forsberg. Besides outlining in a nutshell the costs and risks of the nuclear arms race, and providing a survey of literature on the subject, this guide documents the aims, constituents, and programs of over 5700 peace groups across the country. Groups are broken down alphabetically, by focus, and by zip code. (Ballinger, \$14.95.)

HIROSHIMA & AFTER

Genbaku Shi: Killed by the Atomic Bomb, a film produced by Gary DeWalt, narrated by Connie Goldman. In 1977, a Japanese researcher discovered that five American POWs, crew members of a bomber shot down over Japan in July 1945, were being held in Hiroshima and were among the victims of the atomic bomb. At least two survived, even though they were within one kilometer of the hypocenter, and died later of radiation burns. The producer has relied on FOIA documents and American and Japanese veterans to tell the POWs' story, and to recall the day the first A-bomb fell. (58 minutes, 16mm \$125 rental; ½" VHS or Beta \$100 from Distribution Office, Public Media Arts, Inc., 535 Cordova Road, Ste 200, Santa Fe, NM 87501 505-982-4757.)

Atomic Diplomacy, by Gar Alperovitz. Twenty years ago when this book first appeared Alperovitz was practically a lone voice arguing that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima was unnecessary—and aimed more at scaring the Russians than finishing off the Japanese. In this updated version—the most important book about Hiroshima published during the 40th anniversary year—Alperovitz cites new evidence from Truman's diaries, and other sources, to bolster an already strong case. Must reading. (\$7.95 paperback, Penguin Books.)

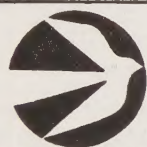
The Day of the Bomb: Countdown to Hiroshima, by Dan Kurzman. This well-written and thoroughly researched history of the decision to drop the first atomic bomb (and its aftermath) is full of fresh detail, especially concerning Japanese and American policy and Kurzman's own ideas about the complicated motives of Klaus Fuchs, a German emigre scientist at Los Alamos who passed atomic secrets to the Soviets. (McGraw-Hill, \$19.95 hardcover.)

The Hiroshima Murals, by John W. Dower and John Junkerman. The famous Japanese artists Iri and Toshi Maruki (they're husband and wife) served on relief teams in Hiroshima in 1945, and have dedicated their lives ever since to painting what they saw and felt. The result: giant, haunting murals—a kind of cumulative Japanese *Guernica*. This

handsome book reproduces the 15 Hiroshima panels (and some others, including one on Auschwitz) in searing color, and also includes biographical material and interviews with the artists. (\$29.95, plus \$1 postage, from Kodansha International, 10 East 53rd St, New York, NY 10022.)

FILMS

Preventing Nuclear War: The First Essential Step, by Gary Krane for the Center for Defense Information. That "step" is the comprehensive test ban, and this lively 28-minute film makes a strong, easy-to-follow case for it. Some of the film is predictable: it is narrated by Paul Newman and features such familiar figures as Gene LaRocque, Richard Garwin, Representative Pat Schroeder and Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy. But it should prove unusually useful as an outreach tool because it also includes appearances by Republicans (such as Representative Jim Leach) and several important businessmen (Ted Turner, among others). And it closes with an excellent mini-history of the first test ban movement 25 years ago and a strong call for citizen action today. (\$30, plus \$8 shipping, from Ideal Communications Inc, PO Box 76600, Washington, DC 20013 202-543-7777. Distributors will give a free copy of the film to anyone who can find businesspeople willing to buy 10 copies for grass-roots distribution.) □



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WINTER, Edwin Ritchie's scathing allegory indicting the nuclear arms race; sold in nineteen states; still going (hard-covers) at cost (to promote peace): \$6.00 ppd., **CENTRALIA PRESS**, Box 607, Floral Park, NY 11002.

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THINKPEACE is a new publication devoted to
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Francisco Study Group for Peace and Dis-
armament, 2735 Franklin St., San Francisco,
CA 94123 (415) 673-7422.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

THE RIBBON GOES ON

Sections of The Ribbon continue to be on display in locations around the country, including **San Jose, CA** (Euphrat Gallery) from **Jan 7-Feb 25**; **Santa Rosa, CA** (Coddington Shopping Mall) from **Jan 11-19**; and **Washington, D.C.** (Textile Museum) from **March 3-May 1**. For more information about The Ribbon, *contact*: Mary Frances Jaster, National Ribbon Coordinator (303) 722-0152.

PEACE CAMP EXHIBIT

The Chicago Peace Museum offers its latest exhibit "Carrying Greenham Home" with materials, photos and artifacts from Greenham Common and U.S. peace camps. Exhibit runs **Jan 12-April 13**. *Contact*: Ruth Barrett, The Peace Museum, 430 W Erie St, Chicago IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

WOMEN IN OFFICE

Hands-on training workshops for women candidates (or potential candidates) and campaign workers will take place in **West Palm Beach, FL** (Feb 8-9); **Dayton, OH** and **Oakland, CA** (Feb 22-23); and **San Antonio, TX** (March 7-8). Sponsored by nine women's organizations. For more information about these and future workshops, *contact*: WAND Education Fund, 691 Massachusetts Av, Arlington, MA 02174 (617) 643-4880.

FRENCH BOYCOTT

Boulder Action for Nuclear Disarmament (BAND) has initiated a boycott of French products, particularly wines, to register opposition to the French government's sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* and its continued insistence on performing nuclear tests in the Pacific. Organizers recommend placing notices in French wine displays at local liquor stores, and writing letters-to-the-editor, congressional representatives, and the French Embassy. For notices, and for more information, *contact*: BAND, c/o Tom Moore, 3080 8th St, Boulder, CO 80302 (303) 447-1097.

NEVER AGAIN CAMPAIGN

Would you—or anyone you know—like to host a Japanese peace worker for a minimum of six months and help to arrange speaking engagements at local schools, churches and organizations? Japanese visitors will pay own air fare, as well as personal expenses. If you're interested in being a host, *contact*: Donald Lathrop, The Never Again Campaign, Berkshire Community College, West Street, Pittsfield, MA 01201.

MEDIA HOTLINE

The newly-formed Media Information Project has opened a 24-hour hotline (202-223-0555) to provide prompt replies to journalists' inquiries about arms control issues, and offer an independent perspective on current developments in arms control and national security. Let your local media contacts know about it. For more information, *contact*: Betsy Reid (202) 833-3140 or James Rubin (202) 797-6450.

ESSAY CONTEST

1986 Swackhamer Prize Essay Contest, "How Can We Settle International Conflicts Peacefully?" Open to high school students across country. First prize \$1500; second \$1000; third \$500. Submission deadline: **May 15, 1986**. For more information, *contact*: Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, 1187 Coast

Calendar

**A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast.
Please submit March and April events by February 1.**

Village Rd, No. 123, Santa Barbara, CA 93108 (805) 969-9137.

MEDIA WATCH

Disarmament Action Network (DAN) is looking for peace activists willing to monitor daily newspapers, and write letters to editors in response to coverage—or non-coverage—of peace issues. *Contact*: DAN, 11 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 491-4280.

JANUARY 4

MARYLAND

• **Columbia** Photo/Lecture, "Peace Odyssey '85," on personal encounters in schools, peace groups and private homes in Brussels, Geneva, Prague, Levall, Kiev, Volgograd and Moscow; Main Library. "Peace Odyssey '85" will be on tour throughout the spring. For itinerary, *contact*: Jean and Dick Rodes, 5250 Patriot Lane, Columbia, MD 21045 (301) 730-8296 or (301) 997-1048.

JANUARY 6

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** "Tribute to Miles Lord" sponsored by Women Against Military Madness (WAMM), honoring former Judge Lord for humanitarian decisions including support given to peace protesters at Sperry plant; Bakken Library. *Contact*: Polly Mann, WAMM, 3255 Hennepin Av, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5364.

JANUARY 11

CALIFORNIA

• **Santa Rosa** Opening ceremony for The Ribbon Display, with concert by 40-member peace choir, featuring soloist Sandy Chapin singing "Ribbon of Life"; Coddington Shopping Mall. *Contact*: Liz Kenner, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 540 Pacific Av, Santa Rosa, CA 95404 (707) 576-7240.

JANUARY 15

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S BIRTHDAY

Nationwide activities

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Lecture series, "Star Wars: The President's Strategic Defense Initiative," will examine and decipher Star Wars from its genesis to its technology and its impact on U.S. defense policy, with Robert Borosage and William Arkin of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) and John Pike, associate director of space policy for the Federation of American Scientists; **each Wednesday through Feb 4**. For registration information, *contact*: The Washington School at IPS (202) 234-9382.

JANUARY 17

CALIFORNIA

• **San Luis Obispo** "Peace Forum and Art Exhibition," with Dr. Benjamin Spock, Joan Bokaer, and others; California Polytechnic University, **through Jan 18**. *Contact*: PSR-San Luis Obispo,

Dr. William Osibin, PO Box 1404, San Luis Obispo, CA 93406 (805) 434-1421.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Durham** Workshop, "Our Vision, Our Voices," to teach participants how to express their concerns about the nuclear arms race in any setting—from the family to the workplace and public settings; Barton Hall, University of New Hampshire, **through Jan 18**. For registration information, *contact*: WAND, PO Box 4312, Portsmouth, NH 03801 (603) 431-5272.

JANUARY 25

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** "Symphony for Survival II," benefit concert by Chicago Symphony for Illinois Freeze, Physicians for Social Responsibility and Musicians Against Nuclear Arms (MANA); Orchestra Hall. *Contact*: (312) 346-MANA.

JANUARY 29

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Reception and dinner, "Tribute to Eisenhower: The 25th Commemoration of his Farewell Address to the Public," with Tom Watson, former chairman of IBM and former ambassador to the Soviet Union. Awards will be presented to members of Congress and several others who have heeded Eisenhower's warning against unwarranted influence by the military-industrial complex, and who have a broad vision of what real national security is; Capital Hill Hyatt Regency. For admission information, *contact*: Business Executives for National Security (202) 429-0600.

JANUARY 30

WISCONSIN

• **La Crosse** Robert Bowman, president of the Institute for Space and Security Studies (ISSS) and former director of space weapons under President Carter, speaks out against Star Wars. He will also speak in **Tucson, AZ on Feb 5-6** and **Portland, ME on Feb 25-26**. *Contact*: ISSS, 7720 Mary Cassatt Dr, Potomac, MD 29845 (301) 983-1483.

FEBRUARY 1

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Cambridge Forum Video Festival, "Images of Peace: Preventing Nuclear War," with video presentations, live evening concert by Paul Winter Consort, special reception for videomakers, and more; First Parish Church. *Contact*: Lisa Rudy, "Images of Peace," 3 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-2727.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Statewide** Sixth Annual "Ski for Peace," in three locations: **Hanover, Canterbury, and Hancock**. *Contact*: American Friends Service Committee, PO Box 1081, Concord, NH 03311 (603) 224-2407.

FEBRUARY 7

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Poetry reading to benefit the Minnesota Freeze; First Unitarian Church, 1900 Mount Curve. *Contact*: John Krumberger (612) 546-1866 days, or (612) 722-5188.

FEBRUARY 12

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Lecture series, "Defense Policy in the Reagan Administration," a behind-the-scenes look at current U.S. military policy and strategy, with William Arkin, co-author of *Nuclear Battlefields* and *The Nuclear Weapons Database*; **each Wednesday through March 15**. For registration information, *contact*: The Washington School at the Institute for Policy Studies (202) 234-9382.

FEBRUARY 19

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Amherst** Lecture series, "New Approaches to Peace and World Security," featuring Ruth Adams, Gene Sharp, Elise Boulding, Richard Falk and others; **every three weeks through April**. For schedule, *contact*: Michael Klare, Director, Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies, Hampshire College, Amherst, MA 01002 (413) 549-4600 ext 563.

FEBRUARY 21

NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference, "Star Wars: Strategy, Technology and Ethics," will address the scientific and moral aspects of SDI, with international law expert Richard Falk; Reagan Administration scientific advisor Gerald Jonas; and McGeorge Bundy. *Contact*: Prof Douglas Lackey, Dept of Philosophy, Baruch College, 17 Lexington Av, New York, NY 10010 (212) 505-2155.

FEBRUARY 27

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Manchester** War Tax Alternative Fund Meeting sponsored by Nashua Peace Center. Object of meeting is to take the interest the fund has earned and award it to a peace organization, to be announced at a later date. *Contact*: Ralph McKay, 17 Barretts Hill Rd, Hudson, NH 03051 (603) 882-1320.

MARCH 2

NEW YORK

• **New York** Opening of the Chicago Peace Museum's traveling exhibit, "Give Peace a Chance," which presents the history of folk and rock music and its intentions to promote peace, featuring posters, records, and the guitar on which John Lennon wrote "Give Peace a Chance"; Cathedral of St. John the Divine, **through April 2**. *Contact*: John Lundquist (212) 316-7497.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo with Charles de Kay and Francine Meyer.

Thanks to everyone who mailed in events.

It's 11 pm.

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Jim Maron-Jarocke

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